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ABSTRACT

One-third of the waking hours of many Americans is spent at work. The work they do determines to a large extent their self-image, economic security and well being, satisfaction in life, status in the community, contribution to society, and their children's view of work and life in general. Of such importance is work that it should be taught and studied by every member of society. This review and synthesis was developed to bring together the current and diverse viewpoints concerning the meaning and value of work in American society. Vocational and technical education is charged with much of the responsibility for preparing people for work. The better the concept of work is extended and understood by vocational and technical education the more satisfying and self-fulfilling one's life will be. The specifics covered in this document are: Ambiguity in the Meaning, Value, and Definition of Work; Historical Perspectives on the Meaning and Value of Work; Current Perspectives on the Meaning and Value of Work; Leisure and the Meaning and Value of Work; Job Satisfaction, Productivity, and the Meaning and Value of Work; and Selected Research Studies. A final section discusses trends and implications and is followed by a 22-page bibliography. (DS)

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THE MEANING AND VALUE OF WORK

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FOREWORD

Work has traditionally played a major role in man's life. This publication reviews the meaning and value of work and its relationship to a technological society as observed by sociologists, psychologists, and educators. The authors examine historical and current perspectives of work and the role leisure and job satisfaction play in human productivity. A list of trends and/or conclusions relative to the meaning and value of work in American society are listed with implications for vocational and technical education.

The profession is indebted to H. C. Kazanas, G. E. Baker, F. M. Miller, and L. D. Hannah, for their scholarship in the preparation of this report. Recognition is also due Rupert N. Evans, University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign; and Jerome T. Kapes, Pennsylvania State University; for their critical review of the manuscript prior to final revision and publication. Paul E. Schroeder coordinated the publication's development, with Paula K. Young providing technical editing.

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INTRODUCTION

The perceptions of the meaning and value of work are an affective factor in the welfare and advancement of a technological society. The industrial training processes of such a society must consider such a factor, for it is of direct importance to the vocational and technical education of that technological society. Through the years, a great number of researchers, authors and philosophers have attempted quantitatively to investigate and analyze or to philosophically formulate the relationship of the meaning and value of work and the changes that are manifested in a technological society which directly affect the meaning and value of work. These efforts have occurred in many different disciplines such as sociology, psychology, and education, thus complicating the researcher's task in establishing his research parameters for the review and synthesis of research on this important and timely subject.

The scope of this paper is to review and report the evolution of various attitudes toward the meaning and value of work with the implications of how past changes may be indicative of changes now occuring in our society. Further, the reviewers attempted to synthesize and categorize those investigations and writings from numerous disciplines that reflect major influences upon the changing meaning and value of work.

AMBIGUITY IN THE MEANING, VALUE, AND DEFINITION OF WORK

Ambiguity in the Meaning and Definition of Work

The term "work" means many different things to different people. Its usage in modern language can reflect a variety of these meanings. Therefore, any investigation into the meaning of work must be based upon the specific definition of the work involved. Not only must the specific definition be identified, but the specific time in history must be specified since the usage of the word "work" has changed down through the ages (Mills, 1953; Weber, 1958a and 1958b; Tilgher, 1958, 1962; Wrenn, 1964; "Land the Poor Built...", 1972; Borow, 1973; Mosse, 1969).

Work to an artist may mean the creation of an original and beautiful piece of art. To a coal miner, "work" may mean long hours of physical toil. To a lawyer in the defense of a client before a jury, "work" may

involve a variety of reacting and writing activities that are mostly mentally and not physically demanding. The Concise Oxford Dictionary of Current English (Fowler and Fowler, 1970) contains a number of explanations for the word which exceeds a full dictionary page. On the other hand, the American College Dictionary (Barnhart, 1959) contains a mere 46-word definition.

Work has both sociological and scientific definitions. In the field of physics, work refers to the rate of transfer of energy as a result of the application of a force. However, in the physiological sciences, it refers to the amount and type of muscular activity promoted. In the sociological sense, it refers to the expenditures of human energies as they produce goods or services (Vroom, 1964; Dubin, 1958).

Many other definitions are given for work. Work is a human activity which one is impelled to undertake as a result of internal or external pressures, or is man's effort to master the environment (Menninger, 1964). Work is the replacement of a primitive problem in history with a less primitive problem, or any effort by man to intentionally modify his environment (Udy, 1970; Schaw, 1968). Man's work is to produce the necessary food and shelter for survival (Goodman, 1960). Work is the only way for man to wrest from the environment the necessary elements to satisfy his needs (Wolfbein, 1971). Wrenn stated that "Work is activity calling for the expenditure of effort toward some definite achievement or outcome. Paid or not, hard or easy, it is always effort toward a specified end" (1964:27).

Russell identifies work in two forms: "...first, altering the position of matter at or near the earth's surface relatively to other such matter; second, telling other people to do so. The first kind is unpleasant and ill paid; the second is pleasant and highly paid" (1958:97).

Webster's New World Dictionary of the American Language (Guralnik, 1970) defines work as bodily or mental effort exerted to do or make something. However, the dictionary, while providing a very sterile definition, does not reflect many of the assumptions and meanings conveyed by the use of the term in the living language. Quey (1968) has defined work as purposeful mental and physical human activity which deliberately points beyond the present by creating economic products or values to be consumed in the future, thus adding the dimension of the future to the definition of work. Quey (1971), in a later publication, adds to his earlier concept by stating that work in its most universal form represents man's attempt to improve human purpose in his environment. However, this definition is based on his earlier definition by describing work as purposeful mental and physical activity oriented into the future which is designed to produce economic goods and values to satisfy man's needs.

Parker (1971) notes the problems in assuming a definition of work and categorizes work into four broad groupings: (1) production, (2) effort, (3) labor, and (4) employment. The category of employment was expanded by Dubin (1958), who defined work as being continuous employment in the production of goods and services for remuneration.

Work as a continuous concept is reflected in several ideas. Parker (1971) recognizes that work need not necessarily be employment in the narrow sense that it produces income, but states that work has a biological and psychological meaning which must involve purposeful and sustained action. Thus, Parker imparts a social and psychological relationship to the definition of work. The continuous nature of work is also supported by Henry (1971), who stated that work is a continuing engagement with the human community; this lends credence to the sociological involvement of work. Schaw's (1968) concept of work regards the continuing application of energies as evolving a problem in history from a more primitive to a less primitive state of being. This evolution requires that existing work lead to further work, thus stressing the continuous nature of work.

Other controversial aspects of work include differences of words with similar meanings, such as "work" and "labor". Arendt (1958) uses the word "labor" to denote necessary activity that would assure the survival of the individual and the word "work" to denote other activities that provide artificial or unnatural states of an unnecessary, but preferred, state. Berger states that "To be human and to work appear as inextricably intertwined notions. To work means to modify the world as it is found" (1964:211). Thus, work is seen not necessarily as the exertion of physical labor but the application of energies to the improvement of man's status over nature.

Work has religious connotations as well as sociological and psychological meanings. Work (or to work) is seen by some as a religious duty and involves anguish and suffering as a part of man's natural fate in the universal order of being. Tilgher (1958) supports both the religious and sociological positions of work. Tilgher promulgated the ideas that work is effort done not merely for the pleasure of doing but with the interest or intent to provoke an occurrence that would not otherwise happen, be the intent religious or aimed toward the enhancement of man's environment.

Another aspect of the definition of work is the implication that work is a result of exterior pressures which make the activity required of the individual in order to accomplish the stated objectives or purposes. This aspect of work is supported by studies of employed workers conducted in Detroit by Weiss and Kahn (1960). Weiss and Kahn found four different ways that workers defined work:

1) Work is an activity which must be performed even though it may not be enjoyed.

2) Work is an activity which requires either physical or mental exertion.

3) Work is an activity which is productive in goods or services.

4) Work is a scheduled and/or paid activity.

The concept of work as a productive activity requiring physical exertion or resulting in remuneration (monetary or psychological) corresponds to findings earlier cited. However, the concept of work as an activity which is performed or required by some external pressure is believed by some researchers to be one of the major elements in the meaning of work which distinguish it from non-work activity or play. For example, the work of a professional tennis player is to play the game of tennis. On the other hand, the same activity by a person making the same physical exertion for recreation is considered a non-work activity or play. Friedmann (1962) sees all work as requiring the elements of pressure and restraint and believes that contradiction between freedom and constraint is the distinguishing element between work and non-work activities. This same distinction is also supported by Meyerson (1951) and Hearnshaw (1954) who agree that the distinguishing characteristics as to the meaning of work must require constraint, obligation and description.

In contrast to the preceeding definitions of work, Brien (1966) regards work as an invention of the devil. Brien states: "It is work which makes the hours limp and the years run" (1966:392). Thus, Brien regards work as something undesirable that man could easily exist without. However, he does not take a position regarding the sociological aspects that range from the providing of man's basic necessities to his meaningful existence in a modern society.

Most researchers, however, regard work and its various synonyms as having no fine distinctions. Words such as effort, labor, and employment all have the same meaning in various situations and this concept is supported by the number of synonyms listed in reference books such as the New Roget's Thesaurus in Dictionary Form (Lewis, 1961) which lists 21 noun and 23 verb synonyms for the term "work". However, there is an ambiguity that is implied in these factors with the use of descriptive adjectives in conjuction with the term "work". Terms such as "meaningful", "noble", "ignoble", "productive", "anomic", "alienated", "physical", "mental" and "interesting" are used in abundance along with other variations of these terms to describe work in the literature. Although some researchers and writers use the terms "meaningful" and "interesting" work

interchangably, "meaningful" work actually implies that the person doing the work may understand the relationship of what he is doing to the total product or service being produced, and, therefore, may have a personal interest or satisfaction, whereas the term "interesting" work does not necessarily include having personal meaning. The term "noble" has a similar meaning in that it refers to work that provides opportunity for self-identification and self-commitment for the personal fulfillment of the worker. On the other hand, "ignoble" work threatens both the self-identification and dignity of the worker. Udy (1970) refers to these descriptive terms as the conditions of work and not as a part of the meaning of work itself.

P. Berger (1964) cites Karl Marx as the originator of the term "alienated" work which describes the situation where man works from necessity in order to survive rather than for self-fulfillment. Marx's "alienated" work corresponds to Durkheim's (1964) term "anomic" work which, according to Berger, refers to a condition where work does not provide the worker with a sense of social attachment or identification. Thus, the eclectic might accept either the term "anomic" or the term "alienated" work as being derogatory to the social and personal significance of the activity.

The term "productive" work is used to describe work that produces economic goods or services which can be used by society. Parker (1971) feels that the term "productive" work is misleading since the effort expended to produce something is work regardless of the result of the effort. Thus, Parker feels that effort may be work although it may disagree with the needs of a particular society. On the other hand, Hoyt (1973) pointed out that the "...trend is clearly toward an increasingly service-and information-oriented occupational society in which machines produce products while man services the machines and serves his fellow man. This trend holds many serious implications for the meaning of work" (1973:34).

Riesman, et al. (1950) recognized the variations of such meanings and suggested that everyone is forced to accept to a certain degree these cultural definitions of work. The socialization process that researchers undergo in our society forces them to categorize definitions relative to the phenomenon (or phenomena) being investigated. In addition, each worker also makes distinctions about the meaning of work based on his perceptions, experiences or point of reference. While a worker may recognize the variations and categories of distinctions, he must also draw an overall conclusion as to the general "goodness" or "badness" of the work being performed.

Three aspects which appear to be stressed in any sociological analysis of work include: (1) the overall structure of the work performed in relation to the worker's immediate associates and location; (2) the worker's function in the total society; and (3) the social and psychological aspects which deal with the worker's interpretation of his place, his status and his relationships as a result of the work performed (Berger, 1964). This last aspect is the ideological aspect and infers that society, or a part of society, must depend upon the work performed. Thus, the ideological aspect of work is the degree of dependence, usually distorted, that the workers believe the society has upon the particular work which they perform.

From the various sources reviewed this far, it appears that several factors may prescribe a pragmatic definition of work. Included among these generally recognized factors are:

1) Work is continuous and leads to additional activity.

2) Work results in a production of goods and/or services and in some instances carries the connotation of the "efficient" production of goods or services.

3) Work is performed for a personal purpose, but these purposes may be: (a) intrinsic-performed for self-satisfaction; (b) extrinsic-performed for pay or to secure other forms of remuneration.

4) Work requires physical and/or mental exertion.

5) Work is performed on a regular or on a scheduled basis.

6) Work has socio-psychological aspects in which certain relations must exist. Among those are: (a) the macro-sociological aspect which deals with the relations of the worker to the society as a whole; and (b) the micro-sociological aspect which relates to the worker's relationships within his immediate society of fellow workers.

7) Work involves a degree of constraint which is either externally or internally applied.

From these qualifications, it is evident that the meaning and definition of work is not a simple, clearly discernable matter. For the researcher, therefore, the meaning and definition of work he uses must recognize this fact and try to categorize and weigh the various factors involved in an attempt to satisfy the research problem under consideration.

Ambiguity in the Definition of the Value of Work

It is becoming increasingly clear to many researchers, writers, and philosophers that our post-industrial society is gradually replacing the traditional concept of the work ethic with the concept of work values (Hoyt, et al., 1973). Therefore, the definition and understanding of the value of work may affect not only the individual's and society's concept of work but also the processes of education. More importantly, the concept of the value of work directly affects the products of vocational and technical education, namely, the future work force being prepared in such programs. This effect has been already demonstrated in the production lines of our automated factories. The loss of the personal value of work in modern, automated factories is reflected in the increased worker absenteeism, worker frustration, feather-bedding, and the lack of importance workers place on work which appears to them to be meaningless. Most people in a modern industrial society associate work with a means of earning a living (Parker, 1971; Hoyt, 1973). The value of work, which traditionally has included moral and religious significance as well as providing societal status, sense of accomplishment, and self-satisfaction, seems to be diminishing with modern post-industrial growth. There are those who believe that the primary value of work is only in income, status and power (Mills, 1953). Also, the so-called "work ethic" appears to be diminishing as a factor in industrial occupations (Kauffman, 1967; Berger and Berger, 1971; Goodwin, 1972a and 1972b; Morrison, 1972; Hoyt, et al., 1972; Bottoms, 1973; Barlow, 1973; Hudson, 1973; Hoyt, 1973; Law, 1973). Thus, future generations could subsequently deny work as a source of personal values and the production of goods could become simply a means of acquiring the financial resources to provide for a high standard of living and other outside interests.

However, a number of researchers have found that some personal values are yet satisfied through work. Parker (1971) reported that apparently the value of work has not been restricted to earning the necessities of life. In a national survey of adult men, Morse and Weiss (1955) reported that 80 percent of the men who participated in their study indicated that they would continue to work even if they had enough money to live comfortably without working. Furthermore, Friedmann and Havighurst (1954) reported that much of the sense of loss held by men at retirement was attributed to the fact that the retirees no longer had a job to do. This supported earlier findings by Bakke (1940) who concluded that the absence of work itself served as a demoralizing agent for the unemployed. In a Department of Labor survey of working conditions (Sheppard and Herrick, 1972; Price, 1972), a national sample of workers ranked work itself above pay in reporting the aspect of their job most needing improvement. This emphasizes the importance today's worker places on the personal value derived from work itself.

Work has been recognized as satisfying many of the psychological needs of individuals (Freud, 1939; Friedmann, 1962; Menninger, 1964; Veblen, 1964). According to Menninger (1964), the most useful values of work result from its outlet for the hostile, aggressive drive of human beings and from the opportunities it provides for individuals to: (1) win approval, (2) develop meaningful social relationships, (3) feel like a part of society, (4) give and take, and (5) have a mission in life. The investigations of Super (1957), Morse and Weiss (1955), and Friedmann and Havighurst (1954) support Menninger's contention that work is important as an activity which provides opportunities for people to engage in meaningful human relations. This value of work is also supported by Ginzberg (1954), Guest (1954 and 1955), Lyman (1955), Morse and Weiss (1955), Seligman (1965), Friedlander (1966), and Parker (1971).

One factor that appears to have significance in establishing the concept of the value of work is whether or not the item (or product) produced by the individual appears to have meaning. In describing the importance of socially meaningful work, Cass (1965) pointed out that workers who produced items that served no apparent purpose had difficulty justifying the expenditures of their time and energy in the production of those items. Goodman, speaking on the same subject, stated that: "American society has tried so hard and so ably to defend the practice and theory of production for profit and not primarily for use that now it has succeeded in making its jobs and products profitable and useless" (1960: 19).

In the last few years, national television, numerous national magazines, and newspapers have commented on problems associated with the assembly line worker. The general consensus has been that the constant and continuous routine of various small tasks that apparently have little relationship to the finished product promote a poor quality of work and high absenteeism in industrial assembly plants. Certain efforts have been under way to alter this situation. As a result of excessive job turnover, the American Telephone and Telegraph Company (AT&T) began studying this problem in the early 1960's and has the longest history of any American company in programs of motivation through work itself (Price, 1972). The AT&T, through its Bell System, began to redesign the employee's work task so that employees would become more committed to the work itself. This process, known as "job enrichment," has recently been applied to a number of other organizations (Paul, 1969; Price, 1972; Thompson, 1972).

Public attention recently has been focused on the automotive industries and their experiments in job enrichment. For example, Chrysler Corporation has been trying to enhance the purpose of the individual worker on the production line. Workers were allowed to produce groups

of parts into entire components rather than just to assemble one small piece. In addition, efforts were made to show the workers how the assemblies they constructed related to both the quality and the completion of the finished product. Workers were also given a greater responsibility in quality control and fewer inspection stations were included in the assembly line. The results of these efforts have shown a significant decrease in absenteeism with a proportionate increase in the quality of the materials produced (Thompson, 1972; Ford, 1969).

A greater number of today's workers are demanding more than a paycheck from their work. An increasing number of industrial workers are demanding more freedom, more feeling of participation, more personal responsibility and a greater sense of accomplishment (Gooding, 1970; Morrison, 1972; Hoyt, 1973; Borow, 1973). As a result, increased emphases on production aspects which make jobs less and less desirable from the human standpoint have become points of major concern in labor-management relations. Herzberg states that "Taylor [founder of scientific management] did not envision that his work would result in an almost inhuman society--. . . catastrophic to . . . dignity . . ." (1966:35).

In response to the demands by workers for more than a paycheck from their work, some industries began to experiment with job enlargement in addition to job enrichment (Herzberg, 1966). However, the concepts of job enlargement and job enrichment present economic problems by increasing the per unit cost of production. Increasing costs due to increased domestic and foreign competition along with greater buyer resistance present limitations to the amount of experimentation that can be done with these concepts by industrial management (Stein, 1971). As a result, some American industries contract sub-assembly work to foreign concerns, thus eliminating entirely the need for high priced American assembly labor (Tierney, 1968; Law, 1973).

The principles of job enrichment are also supported by Kazanas and Wolff (1972). In a review of research pertaining to work habits and values, they concluded that the greater degree of responsibility given to the worker, the greater would be the degree of self-satisfaction and importance derived from that job by the worker.

Goldhammer and Taylor (1972) also found broader implications for the value of work than just a paycheck. They pointed out that earning a paycheck with an industrial job could produce some satisfaction but work could have other meanings as well. They stated that:

> Work has always had the potential of meeting more than the economic needs of man. It also provides a means of meeting far broader social and psychological needs among which are

needs for social interaction, personal dignity, identification and human relationships (1972:68).

From these studies, it is apparent that one's occupation must have importance either through a perception of material contribution to the society or because the worker derives personal satisfaction from it. Personal satisfaction may include societal aspects but may also include the interest one attaches to the work. Jurgensen (1947) and Lindahl (1949) found that office, sales and clerical workers placed highest priority on interesting work while factory and mechanical workers assigned security as the top priority. These findings were supported by a study of engineers and accountants conducted by Herzberg (1966). Herzberg reported that interesting work was ranked second only to security in importance by the individuals surveyed. This emphasis upon work interest implies that work has meaning. Similar results were observed in a survey recently conducted by the Survey Research Center at the University of Michigan (Rosow, 1971a and 1971b). However, interesting or challenging work was rated as the single most important aspect of job satisfaction by the workers surveyed. In a recent national survey, both blue and white collar workers indicated that improvements in job content were needed more than improvements in pay (Price, 1972; Sheppard and Herrick, 1972). The increased emphasis placed upon the importance of work being interesting implies that individuals are seeking more than just the paycheck value in their work. The additional implication is that interest is an indicator of the extent to which work has personal meaning and value to the worker.

Another value of work is that of therapy. Work has long been recognized as a means of therapy and some types of work experiences have long been a part of rehabilitation programs, both for handicapped and mental patients. Many behavioral scientists equate good mental health with interesting work (Hodgson, 1972). G. Friedmann (1962) reports that Freud stressed the importance of work as a means of tying the individual to reality. Freud reported that work is valuable for the opportunity which it provides an individual to discharge his basic energies and drives.

In addition to work's contribution to society, personal interest, and therapeutic values, work has still another value: that of the improvement of man's environment. G. Friedmann (1961) has interpreted work as the activity through which man has distinguished himself from animals as well as change himself, give character to his history, and modify his environment. The bio-social theory of human evolution holds work as the activity essential for the integration of man with his environment. Smith stated that "The effects of work are generated in that they produce new tools, patterns of behaviors and environmental structure" (1962:18). Smith thus sees work as the source which determines man's adaptive behavior, personality, and societal structure. This value of work is a major factor

in the determination of man's social and political structure. According to P. Berger, Karl Marx's viewpoint was that "Man . . . has historically defined himself by work. Man is essentially the being that produces. He not only produces a world of his own, but, as he does this, he produces himself" (1964:222).

The intrinsic and extrinsic values placed on work by workers in different occupational groups have been the subject of a number of research investigations (Lyman, 1955; Herzberg, et al., 1959; Super and Crites, 1962; Centers and Bugental, 1966; Wernimont, 1966; Saleh and Grygier, 1969; Pennings, 1970). Other studies, however, have emphasized the relationships between work value systems and various other factors already discussed (Roe, 1956; Schwarzweller, 1959; O'Conner and Kinnane, 1961; Super, 1962; Kinnane and Suziedelis, 1962; Kinnane and Pable, 1962; Kinnane and Gaubinger, 1963; Ivey, 1963; Humbert, 1964; Hess, 1965; Sprinthall, 1966; Paine, et al., 1967; Blood, 1969; Pallone, et al., 1970; Underwood, 1971; Sikula, 1971; Waters and Roach, 1971; Hales and Fenner, 1972). From these investigations, it seems that the concept of work value is viable though complicated, and can be useful in describing the occupational behavior of most people.

Anthropologists have found that various mores held by a society as part of its culture may affect the value of any human activity. Mead (1958) pointed out that the regard held by a society for a particular activity has potentially the greatest influence on the values placed upon that activity by the individual. Therefore, one important aspect of the individual's frame of reference for a job or an occupation is the value system used by his cultural environment. This contention is supported by Pennings who stated that "Work-value systems can be defined as constellations of attitudes and opinions with which an individual evaluates his job and work environment and they may be either intrinsic or extrinsic" (1970: 397).

Work and its values have been a major factor in the development of any society and in understanding its resulting culture. This contention is supported by Borow who states that "To understand a culture, we must know something of the prevailing work beliefs and practices of its members" (1973: 28). Throughout man's history, a number of specific values have been attributed to work. This factor will be further discussed in the following parts of this publication. As has become evident from the discussion thus far, however, there is a growing concern in our society today that our workers are being alienated from work. This problem has been the concern of industry, social scientists and educators. The following individuals who have written on the problem represent only an example of the literature available on this subject: Riesman, et al., 1950; Mills, 1953; Karsh, 1957; Swados, 1959; Keniston, 1962; Berger,

1964; Venn, 1964; Seligman, 1965; Reich, 1970; Berger and Berger, 1971; Hartman and Gibson, 1971; Sheppard, 1971a; Parker, 1971; Hoyt, et al., 1972; Goldhammer and Taylor, 1972; Morrison, 1972; Johnston, 1972; "Land the Poor Built . . .", 1972; Borow, 1973; Barlow, 1973; Law, 1973; Hoyt, 1973; Bottoms, 1973.

HISTORICAL PERSPECTIVES ON THE MEANING AND VALUE OF WORK

The Meaning of Work in Early Civilizations

In early civilizations, work had meaning, value, and status. Work may not have been as highly regarded as a social factor as it is today, but it was recognized as being important to the well-being of the nations which left us our first glimpses of law and social values. The code of Hammurabi (about 2100 B.C.) had specific regulations concerning the quality of work and a workman's duties to his apprentice. The Judaic code was similar to that of Hammurabi in many respects except for its greater concern with the laws pertaining to the obligations of a father to a son in both the secular and religious realms (Bennett, 1926; Mosse, 1969).

To the ruling classes of ancient Greece, work was a curse (Tilgher, 1958 and 1962; Wrenn, 1964; Mosse, 1969; Parker, 1971). Homer, a source of much information--archaelogical as well as sociological--concerning the early ancient Greek culture, relates that the gods hated mankind and out of spite condemned man to toil (Mosse, 1969). Tilgher (1958) quotes Xenophon as calling work the painful price that the gods charged mankind for living. In most cases, the meaning of work in early civilizations was derived primarily from two sources: social and religious (Wrenn, 1964).

Farming, being a necessary factor for the survival of society, became exempt from the stigma attached to other forms of work (Borow, 1973). The early Greeks, whose political organization was structured around the city-state, believed that the citizens should own businesses or supervise their own agricultural efforts. However, they deplored the mechanical arts as brutalizing the mind until the mind was unfit for the thinking of great truths or the practicing of virtue (Tilgher, 1958 and 1962; Mosse, 1969). Therefore, free artisans and craftsmen were scorned and the mechanical and menial tasks were done by slaves. Slavery itself, in the classic civilization, was not regarded as wrong, morally or otherwise. In fact, slavery was a means of getting the bulk of the heavy, undesirable labor

done (Wrenn, 1964). Tilgher comments on the attitudes of the earlier Greeks in this manner:

> Logically enough, although the Greeks had the greatest respect for pure science and were the first true creators of exact science, they troubled themselves very little with its practical application (1958:7).

The Romans, conquerors of the Greek civilization, assimilated most of the Greeks' attitudes about the arts, science, and social values into their own culture (Tilgher, 1958 and 1962). Cicero, a notable Roman philosopher and statesman, found two occupations worthy of a free man. The first was agriculture and the second was commerce, with all other pursuits being vulgar and dishonoring. Handcraft, the work of artisans, and the crafting of material goods were held in low esteem.

As did the early Greeks, the early Hebrews considered work as a painful drudgery. However, while the Greeks could see no reason why man should be condemned to labor other than at the whim of the Gods, the Hebrews felt that work was necessary to expiate the original sin committed by Adam and Eve in their earthly paradise (Tilgher, 1962; Parker, 1971). Further, the Hebrews had two differing philosophies concerning the obligations of work (Tilgher, 1958 and 1962; Wrenn, 1964; Borow, 1973). Tilgher described the basic idea entailed in these two philosophies as:

> ". . . that man should give no thought to things here present; he should tranquilly await the promised life to come. On the regenerated earth man will no longer need to toil and labor to satisfy his wants, . . ." (15).

> No labor, no matter how lowly, is so offensive as idleness, which creates lasciviousness and puts life itself in peril (1958:17).

Partly because most early Christians were Jews, primitive Christianity followed the Jewish tradition regarding work as a punishment imposed upon man by God because of man's original sin. However, to this negative doctrine of expiation was added one positive consideration. Not only was work necessary to provide expiation and the existence of many of the necessities, but it was a means for accumulating enough to share with one's fellow man (Parker, 1971; Borow, 1973). Upon work, then, was reflected some of the divine light that stems from charity. Riches shared with the poor were considered to bring God's blessing upon the giver (Tilgher, 1958 and 1962).

The concept of charity was also carried one step further in the establishment of the Christian work ethic. To work and share the products of work with others was desirable. To eliminate the middleman and to allow the recipient of the sharing to share directly in the work was even more desirable. Thus, it became the duty of the Christian brotherhood to give work to the unemployed so that no man need remain in idleness. A refusal to work resulted in the offender being cast out of the community for the good of both the community and the offender (Tilgher, 1958 and 1962). This early Christian doctrine recognized no separation between mental, bodily, or physical work. Despite these foundations, no intrinsic value was yet recognized in work. Therefore, work remained a means to a worthy end (Tilgher, 1958; Wrenn, 1964; Borow, 1973).

As early Christianity was built upon the foundation of Judaic morality and Roman law, early Christian leaders generally held a low opinion of physical labor. Some early saints, especially St. Augustine, were influential in changing some of the regard for labor that was held by the early Catholic church (Tilgher, 1958 and 1962; Wrenn, 1964; Parker, 1971). Work, as performed in the monastaries, particularly after the fall of the Roman empire, was not only a means of providing the necessities of life but became the means of maintaining the established social order.

Thus, gradually, work acquired recognition, although the bulk of physical work was still performed by serfs in the feudal system of the dark ages. Serfs remained chattels belonging to the land and as such, they were bought and sold with the land without even being considered separate entities from the land.

Skilled artisans and craftsmen, however, suffered a different fate than did the serfs (Mosse, 1969). The artisans and craftsmen were not tied to the land; therefore, they were free to sell their services to the highest bidder. By keeping the processes and methods highly guarded secrets of their trade, they were able to control, to an extent, the commerce and the trades. Thus, greater diligence led to a degree of wealth that enabled a middle class to form about commerce and the trades (Mosse, 1969; Tilgher, 1958 and 1962).

This, in turn, led gradually to the establishment of large factories where labor could be divided so that semi-skilled individuals could perform repetitive elements of a job using apprentices. A working class was thereby initiated. With the advent of the industrial revolution and the vast flooding of the metropolitan areas with unemployed rural population, the old values, (such as the lord of the land exhibiting a degree of kindness and care) were eliminated. With the money economy, factory lords found a way to get around the traditional burden of responsibility through the payment of wages (Tilgher, 1958; Bennett, 1926).

The transition of serfs to workers was accomplished, thus creating a lower class composed largely of serfs and workers, a middle class composed largely of artisans and merchants, and an upper class composed of the landed and titled nobility and the wealthy. This in itself was an innovation in that a person with luck and diligence could move, by virtue of accruing wealth, from the lowest class to within the limits of the upper class. This transition from feudal to industrial society, however, required several centuries (Bennett, 1926; Veblen, 1954; Tilgher, 1958).

The Protestant Ethic of Work

Tilgher (1958) cites Martin Luther, the first great Protestant reformer, as having held that work was both the universal base of society and the real distinction between social classes. Luther has been depicted as having little sympathy with commerce because it was a means of using work to pass from one social class to another (Wrenn, 1964). To rise in the social hierarchy was, to Luther, against God's laws (Borow, 1973). However, Luther's concept held that work was a form of serving God, and there was just one best way to serve God, and that was to do most perfectly the work of one's calling (Tilgher, 1958 and 1962; Wrenn, 1964; Parker, 1971; Borow, 1973). To promote this concept, Bennett (1926) portrays Luther as having promoted formal schooling in religious matters for all classes. For the lower classes, Luther advocated that a part of each day following the religious training be devoted to the learning of a trade or agriculture by the teachings of the parents or the masters outside of the limits or control of the school.

Calvinism, Puritanism and the Value of Work

Calvinism, as the next great Protestant movement, adopted a new attitude toward work. Borrowing from Luther's concept, Calvinism held that it was the will of God for all, including the rich and noble, to work. In addition, none should lust after the fruits of their labor--wealth, possessions, or luxurious living. However, man was obligated to God to extract the maximum amount of wealth from his work. Therefore, the greater his profit, the more he pleased God and vice-versa. Tilgher (1958 and 1962) points out that the Calvinists held their sweat and toil to have value only as a means to establish the kingdom of God on earth. Thus, this paradox: ceaseless effort to acquire riches as opposed to ceaseless renunciation of the fruits of these efforts added a new element to the Christian ethic, that of <u>profit</u> (Wrenn, 1964).

Although profit was originally conceived by the Calvinists as a means of promulgating ecclesiastical causes (Parker, 1971; Borow, 1973), it was soon discovered that the same principles of profit could produce for the secular arm great wealth, position, and other desirable things. Non-Calvinists in particular were pleased with these concepts; thus, modern business began. The businessman was created from the Protestant merchant who was strong-willed, active, austere and hard-working from religious conviction. Idleness, luxuriousness, prodigality and other extravagances which resulted in the softening of either the muscles or the soul were shunned. Moderation in all things was practiced.

Calvinism formed the basis for most other Protestant movements and also laid the foundation for the modern factory. Although the division of labor was not directly a result of the Protestant movement, the diligent application of man's energy, regardless of the project upon which the efforts were spent, enabled the division of labor to occur within the Christian society (Tilgher, 1958 and 1962).

Puritanism developed from Calvinism and evolved still further into the obligation to work. It taught that one's duty was to extract the greatest possible gains from work, not from the love of money, nor to satisfy the thirst of pleasure, but so that an increased blessing would fall upon the head of the next needy person. Moreover, success was most easily proven by profit. Thus, the application of one's diligence and the choosing of one's occupation were rewarded by God with greater profits. Puritanism opened to every calling the prospect of unlimited profit as a consecration of man's holy attributes. To wish to be poor was the greatest disservice to God (Tilgher, 1958 and 1962; Wever, 1958b; Parker, 1971).

Unlike Luther's concept of societal rigidity, both the Puritan and Calvinist form of Protestantism considered it no virtue to remain satisfied with the class or occupation into which one was born. On the contrary, it was a holy duty to seek the greatest possible return from one's life (Tilgher, 1958 and 1962; Parker, 1971).

The Protestant Ethic of Work in the New World

The New England colonies were settled by Puritans seeking religious and commercial freedom. The middle-Atlantic states were largely settled by Calvinists seeking both religious and economic advantages. Although some colonies were founded by Catholics, most, including the southeastern states, were founded by various Protestant groups who were seeking not only wealth but freedom from persecution for their religious holdings (Bennett, 1926; Wrenn, 1964).

Certain obligations became matters of law as the colonies grew and prospered. Bennett (1926) gives examples of early laws which provided for the training of orphans and indigenous children, including Indians, at the public's expense. Bennett (1926) and Barlow (1967) both cite examples of laws requiring master craftsmen to provide certain types of training for their apprentices in reading, writing, and the arts in addition to mastery of their crafts.

In the western hemisphere, several conditions existed that were beneficial to the establishment and strengthening of the work ethic which became a powerful concept in our society. First, strong feelings regarding the benefits of diligent work and prosperity were ingrained in both the moral and religious fiber of the colonists (Weber, 1958b; "Land the Poor Built . . .," 1972). Secondly, there was little class distinction in the colonies due to the fact that people who were prosperous had no need to brave the hardship inherent in colonizing the new world ("Land the Poor Built . . .," 1972). Thus, the colonies were largely peopled by those who had everything to gain and comparatively little to lose. A third factor was the vast opportunity in land and natural resources that could enable almost anyone to succeed who was willing to put forth the effort (Barlow, 1967). Even the concept of indentured servitude was but a postponement of the probability of ultimate success. It provided a means of getting to the land where success was so probable (Barlow, 1967).

However, another factor entered into the evolving work ethic. This was the factor of education and training ("Land the Poor Built . . .," 1972). Partly because of the availability of wealth, the established Protestant ethics, the ingrained social attitudes and regard for diligent work, and the social mobility possible in a culture without distinct and traditional cultural castes, many colonists wished for their sons and daughters better training and education than they had received (Bennett, 1926; Barlow, 1967). Colleges, universities, mechanics institutes and other forms of formal education appeared throughout the colonies (Bennett, 1926). Education and wealth were the means to social ascension (Barlow, 1967). This upward mobility was impossible in other societies, but was made possible in America. Therefore, the American working class achieved what no other working class had achieved in history. The working class became the middle class and the more they worked, the more and greater success and upward mobility they enjoyed ("Land the Poor Built . . .," 1972).

The Effects of the Industrial Revolution and Automation on the Value of Work

The industrial revolution was actually a result of several factors regarding the production of goods. The first was the concept of the

division of labor which originated during the 14th and 15th centuries when semi-skilled workers repetitively worked on only one or two segments of the total assembly (Tierney, 1968). The second factor that promulgated the industrial revolution was the advent of power. Power, primarily in the form of water and steam power, enabled factories to spring up in places where the application of power could be made directly to endless numbers of machines devoted to the production of goods (Tierney, 1968). The relative inefficiency of these 18th century machines by present day standards is academic; the fact which is important is that they enabled an industrial class to produce goods far beyond their ability to consume them, thus creating great surpluses leading to increased commerce and trade. A third factor in the increase of commerce and industrialism was the innovation of interchangeable parts commonly attributed to the efforts of Eli Whitney in the early 19th century (Kicklighter, 1968). The final factor in the industrial revolution was the use of power to move goods and pieces from one station to another, thereby reducing human involvement and wasted effort in non-producing activities (Kicklighter, 1968). The continuous processing of flour by Oliver Evans in the early 1800's and the assembly line of Henry Ford in the early 1900's are examples of the innovations brought about during the industrial revolution.

A number of authors have pointed out that one of the results which affected working during the industrial revolution was the intensification of the division of labor (Bell, 1956; Karsh, 1957; Berger, 1964; Venn, 1964). The implications of this intense division of labor for the purpose of increasing production were to bring specific work processes to an ever increasing fragmentation. This removed the worker further and further from participating in the final product (Mills, 1953; Venn, 1964; Seligman, 1965). This factor resulted in the change in work attitudes from those that existed in the sixteenth, seventeenth and eighteenth centuries to the emerging new work attitudes of today. Hoyt, et al., reflect upon these changes as follows:

> Ironically, those very changes that have increased our potential for work productivity-mass production, automation, cybernation and occupational technology-have resulted in making the work ethic, in its classic form, less meaningful and seemingly less appropriate for the individual worker (1972:67).

It is easily observed from a comparison of the production processes of the early seventeenth century and modern procedures that work has changed; however, the extent and the type of change in the work ethic is not as easily seen (Hudson, 1973).

Certain homilies such as "A task well done is its own reward," compared with the more recent, "Do unto others before they do unto you,"

reflect some of the changes in the work ethic. It is logical to assume that as the work and society changed, the work ethic also changed. Innovations in new production processes such as automation, fragmentation of labor, increased production rates, increased profits to the manufacturers, decreased manual labor and reduction in the hours of work for the workers have all contributed to the increased prosperity and freedom from toil experienced by most workers. However, depriving man of both his involvement in the total production process as well as the possibility of self-realization through his work has presented problems far beyond those imagined by the people who felt they were freeing man for more honorable labors (P. Berger, 1964).

Tilgher (1958) commented on the attitudes held by the 19th century industrial innovators. While they held that the work in earlier factories was more personal than that done in the modern mills, they also observed that in the earlier factories the workers had to do the heaviest, hardest and meanest types of labor. In this respect, the benefits of the modern machine age have almost wholly freed the working man from those tasks requiring mere brute strength (Riesman, et al., 1950; Tilgher, 1958; Swados, 1959; G. Friedmann, 1962; Wrenn, 1964; Vehn, 1964). Consequently, the unskilled or semi-skilled worker of today, who would rely upon the strength of his back and arms and his willingness to labor, is not in demand as he once was. Today, the job where an individual with only ambition and strength can advance easily is the exception rather than the rule. The individual without a high degree of skill is usually placed upon an assembly line where the job becomes impersonal, highly repetitious, and is but a fractional portion of the whole. There is no apprenticeship nor involvement in the whole product (Karsh, 1957; Friedmann, 1962; Riesman, 1964; Morrison, 1972; Price, 1972), nor is the acquisition of an assembly skill a guarantee of job satisfaction. Furthermore, these skills change and many jobs become obsolete as new processes and machines are developed. There has been almost a 50 percent change in the job listing of the Dictionary of Occupational Titles (U.S. Department of Labor, 1965) from 1950 to 1970 (U.S. Bureau of Labor Statistics, 1970).

An earlier factor affecting the erosion of the traditional work ethic was the willingness of immigrants to provide cheap labor and ultimately advance in a new society. Immigrants from countries undergoing political revolution, famine, or vast social pressures in the seventeenth, eighteenth and ninteenth centuries would literally sell themselves into servitude complete with their entire families for a period of time in order to move to the new world (Bennett, 1926; Barlow,1967; "Land the Poor Built . . .," 1972). These immigrants would gladly live in crowded tenements, work under less than desirable conditions and for substandard wages in order to provide themselves with a means of transportation to the new world and a basic amount with which to start once their condition of servitude was finished.

The opening of the west in the early days had some effect on work attitudes. However, as the easily acquired land and resources diminished, the ability to "move west" decreased and modern industrial conditions began to prevail. Industries were left with the competitive tradition of low wages, and the workers were left with small wages and poor attitudes regarding their work, but with no way to move west ("Land the Poor Built . . .," 1972; Reich, 1970; Morrison, 1972; Riesman, 1964).

During the two world wars, the armed forces of this country and of its allies were in great need of products from American industries. Everything that could be produced was used and there was no surplus or oversupply. It was considered patriotic to promote everything that could be done to increase production. (Morrison, 1972; "Land the Poor Built . . .," 1972). In addition to the fragmentation of working skills to compensate for the lack of time for training, great engineering ingenuity was applied to revise production processes so that greater numbers of less skilled people could accomplish higher production rates on the production line. People without any skill could thus be quickly trained to produce acceptable products (Karsh, 1957; Tierney, 1968).

Although this fragmentation and the reduction of personal involvement would normally be expected to bring dissatisfaction, the necessity of increased production for the war effort made the performance of such fragmented work both patriotic and desirable. In the postwar period, however, these same types of jobs, once freed of their patriotic connection, developed into jobs that led to dissatisfaction ("Land the Poor Built . . .," 1972). The continued application of the same engineering techniques that increased the wartime output served to raise the absentee rates and dissatisfaction of free individuals (Morrison, 1972).

The problems and the ethics developed by American workers in the second half of the 20th century have also risen from other circumstances as well. Although the traditional work ethic has been related to production and the making of something of value, new fields of work have emerged which are not directly related to production ("Land the Poor Built . . .," 1972). The great rise of service workers in such fields as teaching, police and fire protection, medical assistance, and many others, not only have a recognized place in our society but have become specialized at a rate consistent with the industrial advancements made through the use of modern technology ("Land the Poor Built . . .," 1972; Hoyt, 1973). In addition, the services of these workers have been extended to include the areas of convenience, leisure and entertainment. This has been a result of the increased productivity of the American worker along with an increased standard of living and pay rate. However, these increases in the worker's manner of living have also been brought about in part by the decrease of his personal involvement in his way of earning a living (Karsh,

1957; Morrison, 1972; Borow, 1973; Law, 1973). Thus, the situation has been established to gradually erode the traditional work ethic by lessening the personal involvement and commitment to work. Work, then becomes more and more a means of financing entertainment, a high standard of living and other non-work activities.

The white collar worker generally has been held in higher regard as to status and prestige than the blue collar worker, partly because he is associated with the wealthy and partly because of the work he is called upon to do. The application of earlier Christian ethics to this meant that the white collar worker was therefore more successful and his job more disirable than that of his blue collar counterpart. In addition, the necessity of increased education to deal with complexities of nonproduction work such as machine design, resource management, planning, marketing, and other factors involved in modern commerce have helped to establish the desirability of the white collar job over that of the blue collar job in the minds of many people (Caplow, 1954; Mills, 1953; Venn, 1964; Henle, 1971; Levitan and Taggart, 1971). On the other hand, the rise in the cost for skilled labor prepared the way for the rise in the per unit production cost which in turn made it necessary to have more automated production facilities, more efficient management and greater efficiency from those workers retained in the production sequences. This makes separating today's blue collar workers from white collar workers more and more difficult.

Because of the prestige attached to white collar jobs (U.S. Department of Labor, 1972) and changes in the blue collar jobs, many workers themselves are discouraging their children from entering training in the trades and production lines (Hoyt, et al., 1972; "Land the Poor Built . . .," 1972). It is generally regarded by those who work on the production line that nonproduction (the white collar) jobs require less physical labor, result in greater income and have a higher status (Caplow, 1954; Mills, 1953; Venn, 1964; Henle, 1971; "Land the Poor Built . . .," 1972). Thus, they wish for their children advantages that they themselves have not enjoyed (Levitan and Taggart, 1971). Combined with the social mobility available in our society through education and diligence, a pronounced shift in the labor force has been possible (Berger and Berger, 1971; Levitan and Taggart, 1971). In addition, the working class of yesterday has become the middle class of today due to the surplus of economic resources available to the working class. Therefore, a high standard of living, a surplus of accumulated earnings, the access to educational opportunities, and the opportunity to own real estate property coupled with the concept of social mobility, has provided great shifts in attitudes of today's worker ("Blue-collar/White-collar . . .," 1971; Henle, 1971; "Land the Poor Built . . .," 1972). The worker of the middle class today is more receptive toward the capitalist system and less inclined to the socialist and communist theories than his counterpart in previous years.

Generally, however, among the consequences of the industrial revolution and automation are the following:

1) Work or job analysis and its subsequent breakdown into basic tasks have resulted in efficient and economic production.

2) A reduced amount of skill, training, and knowledge is required to get and hold an industrial semi-skilled job.

3) An increased amount of skill, training, and knowledge is required for entry into a skilled trade or profession.

4) An increased emphasis is on the production aspects of work and less emphasis is on concern for the human aspects of work and for the work environment.

5) Removal of heavy manual labor from jobs results in less physical efforts by workers.

6) Increased job opportunities for skilled and to some extent semi-skilled workers provide both vertical and horizontal mobility (horizontal mobility allows workers to move from job to job of a similar level with a minimum of training; vertical mobility allows workers, with appropriate retraining or acquired knowledge, to move upward into managerial and professional positions).

7) Physical and psychological problems relating to work adjustment have increased.

8) Personal meaning and value of work have been lost for the typical production worker.

9) A paradox exists in which more opportunities for jobs and mobility are created while depriving these same jobs of the values that make them meaningful and valuable.

Many of the opportunities for less skilled workers are also being limited by developments in automation (Karsh, 1957; Venn, 1964; "Land the Poor Built . . .," 1972). A "break-even" point is common in which the cost of the development of the machine to take over the job of the worker (which in past was prohibitive in cost) is now considered. When the cost of such a machine becomes only a matter of a few years' wages

of the worker, say three to five years, it is generally cheaper to produce the machine to replace the worker. In addition to having a machine which will work over a longer period of time at a comparatively smaller salary, there are fewer problems from the standpoint of safety attitudes of the worker, labor disputes, and fringe benefits (Kicklighter, 1968).

Hoyt, et al., (1972) made the following observation concerning the traditional work ethic:

> All honest work possesses innate dignity and worth. Excellence can be attained and is rewarded in any occupation. One should strive to do his best in whatever work he does. The worker who is satisfied with doing less than his best is, to some extent, dissatisfied with himself. The contributions one can make to society stem, to a large extent, from the work one does. Work is seen as possessing personal as well as financial rewards for the worker and the phrase "A task well done is its own reward" has real meaning. Persons to whom the work ethic is meaningful want to work, prepare themselves for work, and actively seek to work; they are, most of the time, happier when they are working than when they are not. A significant portion of the pride individuals have in themselves is found through accomplishment of their work. Hard work is seen as the best and surest route to the highest level of occupational success possible for the individual (1972:67).

The traditional work ethic, however, is undergoing a radical transformation, especially in the minds of young workers (Law, 1973; Herzberg, 1966; T. Smith, 1967; Morrison, 1972; Borow, 1973; Hoyt, 1973). Changing attitudes of young people in conjunction with changing economic times and conditions are presenting greater demands for change ("Blue-collar/White-collar . . .," 1971). Herzberg (1966) supports the concept of change but comments that for industrial workers in our world of work, where work is a means of providing the way of life rather than the thing desired in itself, the traditional work ethic is being replaced by an avoidance ethic. However, Morrison (1972) concludes that the work ethic is alive, though it is not completely well, while Hoyt (1973) believes that it will be replaced by the concept of "work values."

Still another variable affecting the work ethic as a result of our modern industrial society is the choice between the work ethic that built this nation and the characteristics that could cause the American character to weaken. Although the middle class is the working class in America, poverty is a persistent problem. An increasing number of people are being added to welfare budgets which have been growing at a rate that threatens to bankrupt state and federal budgets. Critics on one side demand more

money for meeting increasing needs and providing greater services to help those in need, while those on the other side feel that too much is presently being spent and most of what is spent is going to support people who recieve more money from welfare than from any form of employment. While there are questions relating to the interpretation of work and the desire to work on the part of some Americans, Goodwin (1972a and 1972b) reports that the work ethic is strong among the poor and also among welfare recipients. T. Smith (1967) proposes that the government guarantee work to every person who wants it throughout his life.

From the viewpoint of those who work to assist the poor, welfare is intended to provide not only economic assistance, but also training and employment to solve the problems of the poor. The problems of the poor stem largely from circumstances and attitudes that include lack of jobs, opportunity, and sufficient training. However, where a problem in attitude exists, the solution is more complicated. Manpower personnel do not readily recognize physical, social and mental handicaps as barriers to employment, if the circumstances are right. That is, there must be jobs available, a knowledge of opportunities, adequate training and a desire for employment ("Land the Poor Built . . .," 1972).

Indications are that the work ethic is changing and is being challenged by several forces of modern society. America appears to reject the notion that work is good in itself and has intrinsic value to the individual worker. More and more people are retiring early in both the blue collar and white collar categories (Sheppard, 1971b; Sheppard and Herrick, 1972). The work week has been reduced so that more emphasis is placed upon non-work or leisure activities. The increased rates in standards of living have promoted a new hedonism from one facet of the population and anti-materialistic reactions from other groups. These factors, in conjunction with factors developed from automation and the elimination of jobs, are jeopardizing the heritage of the traditional work ethic which states that work in itself is important and has value.

CURRENT PERSPECTIVES ON THE MEANING AND VALUE OF WORK

Previous sections of this paper have shown that "work" means various things to different people and that these meanings have changed throughout history. Further, it has been shown that the very nature of work has changed with technical innovation, thus changing the traditional work ethic as significant sociological forces evolve. Because of the increased

scientific and engineering complexity in modern industry, functions performed by people have become increasingly complex and sequented. This in turn calls for increased specialization by the worker. Therefore, since work no longer means simply physical toil, this section attempts to explore what work means to the various segments of the American labor force.

Our modern society has been subdivided into various classifications. Some classifications include the traditional three socio-economic classes (upper, middle, lower) which now base their classification upon one or more major social dimensions, such as education, influence, income and work status. Dubin (1956) recognized that these dimensions were not isolated social influences and hypothesized that work is only one major area in the system of personal identification or social determination of status. Dubin also suggested as early as 1956 that work may be valued very little by the participants in the labor force except as a means of providing for a basic life style, while others made reference to work as the focal point in an individual's life (Rosenberg, 1957; Orzack, 1959; Sheppard, 1971b).

However, other classifications similar to those by Caplow (1954) considered more factors but from a narrower range. Caplow's socio-economic classification system of occupations is based upon five assumptions which are inherent, according to Caplow, in today's working culture:

1) White-collar work is superior to manual work.
2) Self-employment is superior to employment by others.
3) Clean occupations are superior to dirty ones.
4) The importance of business occupations depends upon the size of the business, but this is not true of agricultural occupations.
5) Personal service is degrading, and it is better to be employed by an enterprise than be employed in the same work by a person (1954:42-43).

If these assumptions are valid, then a question arises as to what factors further define these assumed categories. Hyman (1953) reported that the congeniality of the work was the single most important factor for a young man to consider in choosing a career. Hyman found this response was made by 65 percent of the professional or business respondents who had fathers from professional or business backgrounds. In addition, 62 percent of the professional or business respondents whose fathers were skilled or semi-skilled workers gave the same response. Of these same two groups, 15 and 19 percent, respectively, listed economic benefits (wages) as the most important aspect.

Friedlander and Walton (1964) conducted a study of scientists and engineers regarding their reasons for leaving private industries for

employment in the Federal services. The reasons given most frequently were: (1) a chance to do interesting, challenging and important work; (2) favorable economic factors; and (3) to gain personal work experience. The reasons given for leaving their past jobs in industries included: (1) poor pay; (2) little chance for advancement; (3) locale of the job; and (4) to return to school.

These studies also support the previously reached conclusion that other values besides pay are major factors in attitudes toward work. It should be noted, however, that according to Caplow's assumptions and to Maslow's (1970) "hierarchy of needs," these professional groups are already in the higher categories. With the necessities of life assured, they can afford to turn their energies to the traditional work ethic because they have few other motives than profit and altruism. However, in a recent survey, a national sample of both white and blue collar workers ranked aspects of job content above pay (Price, 1972; Sheppard and Herrich, 1972).

White Collar Workers and the Meaning and Value of Work

The industrial concept of the division of labor, which caused the demise of the small craftsman who owned a shop and handled his own management, and the evolution of the large industry with specialists in management, sales, and production, created a new class of workers. The workers who spent their energies in the management, supervision and marketing aspects of the industry and were not directly involved in production were given the label "white collar" workers because of their typical attire worn while they worked. As emphasis increased upon the management, research and development, marketing and advertising aspects of business and industry, more and more white collar workers were included in the labor force. They included clerks, receptionists, engineers and scientists, high and low management personnel and a variety of other functionaries. The main growth in the labor force in previous decades, except for the mid-1960's, has been in the white collar field. Projections by the U. S. Department of Labor show continued increase in employment of white collar workers for future years (Lecht, 1969; Goldstein, 1971; U. S. Department of Labor, 1972).

Friedlander (1965), in a study of the work environment across several occupational and status classifications, found that it was primarily the white collar worker who found self-actualization to be of great importance in his work. Lyman studied the occupational differences in the values attached to work and concluded:

> . . . that there are occupational differences in the values attached to aspects of work. It indicates that differences in emphases on aspects of work (white collar respondents emphasize the nature of the work itself and freedom, blue collar emphasizes the physically easy nature of the work, the economic reward, the condition of work and cleanliness) are not likely to be a function of the difference in prevalence of job satisfaction (1955:144).

These studies show the tendencies of the white collar worker to be independent, to value a variety of associations rather than repetitious details, and to exhibit a degree of satisfaction derived from the accomplishment of the work itself.

Blue Collar Workers and the Meaning and Value of Work

In colonial America, the worker usually began his career as an apprentice working for a single craftsman. This relationship often maintained many of the characteristics of a family. However, after the advent of the industrial revolution, both the national economy and technological innovations developed rapidly. This brought about a fundamental change in the position of the American working man. He no longer worked for an individual employer serving a small, local market. Instead, he worked in a factory or shop producing goods on a large scale basis. In addition, the work was differentiated into production work (where the working man was a producer) and into non-producing jobs (where the individual worker was a planner or supervisor). The distinction between "white collar" and "blue collar" had little to do with the classification of skill, pay or ability. Today, it is becoming increasingly difficult to distinguish between the "blue collar" and the "white collar" worker (Blum, 1971).

As previously mentioned, statistics show that in the last several decades there has been a relative decline of the blue collar employment. This decline is projected to continue during the next decade.

However, there are still some 70 million persons living in families headed by blue collar workers. Levitan and Taggart (1971) reported that the annual income of craftsmen, foremen, and non-farm laborers is concentrated between $5,000 and $10,000 annually and, in 1969, the "average" married blue collar worker earned approximately $8,000. It was also reported that one of every two family incomes was supplemented by either the husband working at a second job (moonlighting) or by the wife working outside the home. The individual savings were reported as meager, with the major investment made in owning a home. To acquire desired goods,

credit buying was utilized to the extent that monthly payments required a large portion of the family's income.

According to some analysts (Bell, 1956; Fromm, 1965; Sheppard, 1971a; Levitan and Taggart, 1971), these circumstances diminish the blue collar worker's adaptability to change. He is viewed as "hooked" by his consumption patterns, thus having to run just to stay in place on an economic treadmill where all his energies are devoted to maintaining his standard of living. He is understandably upset over any distraction which he sees as a threat to his economic security and lives at the margin where consumption keeps just ahead of earning. Thus, he is haunted by the fear of economic change. In this setting, he views life as a "zero-sum" gain, in which others' gains are usually his loss.

However, such economic patterns are not restricted to blue collar workers. The proliferation of persons seeking white collar jobs, the corresponding decline in the prestige and quantity of blue collar jobs, increased Federal legislation favoring workers, and organized labor have made the earning power of the blue collar worker equivalent if not superior to that of the white collar worker (Drucker, 1971). Swados pointed out the following:

> . . . the worker's rise in real income over the last decade, plus the diffusion of middle class tastes and values throughout a large part of the underlying population have made it increasingly difficult to tell blue collar from white collar workers. . . . In short, if the worker earns like the middle class, votes like the middle class, dresses like the middle class, dreams like the middle class, then he ceases to exist as a worker (1957:67).

The American mixture of a democratic government and free enterprise has resulted in unprecedented prosperity combined with great social freedom. The working class, both blue collar and white collar, has developed into the middle class (Lefton, 1967). However, despite this relative prosperity and freedom, several factors remain that could negate aspects of the traditional work ethic. Henle (1971) observed:

> . . . blue-collar occupations still involve certain inherent disadvantages compared to occupations in the white-collar category: greater exposure to unemployment, less pleasant working conditions, and limited advancement in earnings and in job responsibilities after age 35 are perhaps the most important (36).

With the rapid increase in unionization among blue collar workers (Laslett, 1968; Ginzberg, 1971), the job security of a worker was increased

considerably. Workers were not subject to arbitrary dismissal from their job and, with seniority, a worker's job was considered his as long as he could do the work and the employer didn't go bankrupt. Today, however, many blue collar workers feel that their job security is threatened by advancements in automation. This is especially true since the manufacturing industries account for approximately 50 percent of all blue collar employment (Miller, 1971). Employment trends (U.S. Department of Labor, 1972; Goldstein, 1971) indicate, however, that although the actual percentage of the work force employed in blue collar occupations will decrease to less than one-third by 1980, the number of blue collar job openings will increase during the decade of the seventies. This stresses the need for occupational mobility among the work force.

The concept that the blue collar worker is locked into a dead-end job and has little chance for upward mobility (Miller, 1971; Levitan and Taggart, 1971; Rosow, 1971a and 1971b) is losing much support in the literature (Ginzberg, 1971; Miller, 1971). From a case study of discontented workers, Sheppard (1971a) concluded that workers already discontented with their jobs were more likely to be disturbed by a perceived lack of occupational mobility than were other workers. Orinker, et al., (1970) studied 11 major industries employing seven million workers and found that less than one-third were working in a relatively "dead-end" job.

Sheppard (1971a) compared a group of blue collar workers who were believed to be discontented with their jobs, with a group of workers who did not exhibit these signs of discontentment. Seven out of 10 discontented workers reported that they were not now as well off as they had aspired to be when they finished school. On the other hand, only one out of seven contented workers were similarly inclined. This discrepancy between aspirations and achievements suggests that the role of education in the development of realistic aspirations should be investigated.

Sheppard further observed that among discontented workers, 27 percent replied that they are troubled nearly all of the time or very often because of the slim chances of getting ahead in their jobs. Among the contented workers, only 10 percent were troubled by the same feeling. This, along with the 77 percent of discontented workers who considered that they were less well off than they were 10 years previously, points to a growing discontent and change in workers' attitudes today.

Sheppard also found that the older workers tended to be less content than the younger ones, particularly those older workers with more education. The older, better-educated group had the greatest preparation to succeed, and the lack of having been able to do so could logically have induced such discontent. However, Brim (1968), from a survey of adult socialization research, identifies the critical stage in the formation

of the attitudes leading to discontentment as the time when workers must adjust their career aspirations with the probable reality of the achievement that they foresee for themselves. Concerning the educational aspirations of the workers, Sheppard stated that:

> . . . the amount of education a person obtains positively affects his career aspirations as he enters the world of work; or persons with high aspirations tend to be the ones obtaining more education than those with lower aspirations (1971a:28).

Kapes (1971) also suggested the importance of education as it affects career aspirations. He found that better academic preparation allows one to take advantage of guidance services that would also tend to insure a higher level of success.

Although greater social freedom is prevalent, complete freedom of career choice does not emerge as a broad reality. This is perhaps best reflected by the trend of production workers to encourage their children to pursue a formal education that will allow them to pursue careers unlike those of their parents (Ginzberg, 1971; Schrank and Stein, 1971; "Land the Poor Built . . .," 1972; Hoyt, et al., 1972).

The changes in attitudes and behavior are in many cases most noticeable in the lack of quantity and quality of the goods and services produced and in job absenteeism. However, the lack of satisfaction is not confined to the blue collar workers on assembly lines. Both blue and white collar occupations are subject to discontent (Mills, 1953; Levitan and Taggart, 1971). Levitan and Taggart state that:

> Rising rates of absenteeism and increasingly shoddy workmanship are alleged to be reactions to onerous working conditions. . . . It is not just in blue-collar jobs that workers expect more and offer less. Many white-collar workers are subject to the same dissatisfactions . . . as blue-collar workers. Though their jobs are usually less taxing physically, they demand a repetitive mental effort which may be equally exhausting. . . . Considering the education which is required, filling a tooth may be no more satisfying than putting a rivet in an automobile body (1971:24-25).

Levitan and Taggart continue by observing that we do not live in the best of all possible situations and that all workers, both blue collar and white collar, have troubles and anxieties which are consequences of rapid economic growth and social change. Levitan believes that the institutional and personal mechanics of adaption have functioned reasonably

well and that expressions of dissatisfaction are examples of such mechanics.

Some suggestions have been made to help alleviate the discontentment among blue collar workers. Morrison (1972) suggested to: (1) give the workers a totality of tasks by breaking up the traditional assembly line; (2) permit employees to organize their own work; (3) let workers see the end products of their efforts; (4) let workers set their own hours; and (5) treat workers like mature, responsible adults. Johnson and Stern (1969) suggest that blue collar workers constitute a source of trainable persons which would meet the expanding needs for white collar employees. They recommend that public agencies and private employers should consider programs to expedite the advancement of blue collar employees to white collar employment as growing needs emerge within these organizations.

However, this concept was condemned by the statement of Riesman et al., (1950), "If one is successful in one's craft, one is forced to leave it." This same idea is reflected in "The Peter Principle" (Peter and Hull, 1969). Riesman felt that when an individual is successful and happy on a job he should not be promoted out of it. Riesman's concept, however, disregarded the possibility that one of the factors that led to the worker's feeling of satisfaction may well have been his chance for eventual promotion.

From a study of industrial workers, Dubin (1956) concluded that work and the work place were not central life interests for a vast majority of workers, particularly for industrial workers. Dubin stated that:

> Industrial man seems to perceive his life histroy as having its center outside of work for his intimate human relationships and for his feelings of enjoyment, happiness, and worth (1956:140).

Dubin, however, recognizes that the worker regards his work place as the major factor in dealing with technological aspects of his life and for his participation in formal organizations. The feeling of the worker toward his place of work is that ". . . he has a well-developed sense of attachment to his work and workplace without a corresponding sense of total commitment to it" (Dubin, 1956:140).

Riesman, et al., (1950) in their book, The Lonely Crowd, portray a similar picture of the industrial worker. Riesman advanced the thesis that work may not play the role of a central life interest as it once did. He believes that a long term career commitment could be afforded in the early days of industry because change occurred over a relatively lengthy period of a working lifetime, and that an individual could hope to keep up with others without any particular competitive effort.

For industrial workers, the work and workplace seems to be a detached, but necessary, factor in their life. However, for professional and managerial occupations, this detachment is not as readily apparent. Orzack (1959) applied Dubin's thesis to professional nurses and found that ". . . work appears to be a major, if not dominant, interest of the professional nurses . . ." (1959:129). Orzack concluded that "Work is obviously a highly-valued, demanding and important feature of the many roles played in our society by professionals" (1950:131).

From interviews with business and service workers, Parker (1971) found that 11 percent of the business workers and 32 percent of the service workers felt work was their main interest in life. Parker suggests that this difference is due to the feeling expressed by the service workers that their work was socially useful.

Kornhauser (1965) reported that the job was selected as the most satisfying part of life by only two percent of the production workers surveyed. This would tend to support the conclusions that job satisfaction and meaning is correlated to both contribution to society and involvement in a total process.

K. Smith (1962) advanced the concept that many sectors of activities--education, religion, recreation and warfare--influence human organization, but that the work sector remains the central area of influence in the life of the worker regardless of whether the occupation is blue or white collar.

Comparing the professional who views his work as vital to his role in society and for whom the work itself is highly valued to the stereotype of the disinterested, bored, lethargic worker on the industrial assembly line, it is obvious that different attitudes do exist between these two extremes regarding work and its value to the individual as a person. However, where the loss of identity occurs regarding work, the destruction of all positive personal attitudes of work and the work ethic are probable. Where the individual is highly involved with the total aspect of his work, the traditional work ethic appears quite strong (Morrison, 1972; Hoyt, 1973; Borow, 1973). However, Goodwin (1971), in a study of welfare recipients, found the traditional work ethic to be high. He concluded that welfare recipients are as committed to the traditional work ethic as are middle class Americans.

In summary, findings generally indicate that a work ethic exists where work is not simply a matter of providing the necessities of survival. However, evidence is strong that with the segmentation and specialization of job functions, the work ethic is changing. Further, this evolutionary process appears correlated to both job functions and societal status so that as the working class changes from a generally monolithic

group with common values, environment and function to numerous functionary specialists, the traditional work ethic is likewise fragmented.

LEISURE AND THE

MEANING AND VALUE OF WORK

Recent increased rates in absenteeism on routine production jobs have been alarming. Researchers have pointed to changing philosophies of the meaning and value of work resulting from both societal changes and the dehumanization of work through emphasis upon production methods at the expense of the human elements. Wilensky (1961 and 1963) reported that the total man hour equivalents for leaves from production and manufacturing work time were only about six percent of the total reimbursed work hours in 1958. Wilensky wrote, ". . . a liberal estimate of official and unofficial breaks on-the-job would not bring the whole (paid absences plus "leisure" in the workplace) to more than 10 percent of the year's work routine" (1963:128). James Roche ("Mighty GM . . .," 1970), Chairman of General Motors Corporation, said:

> . . . We've got absenteeism in our plants, which is common throughout the industry, running twice as high as it did a few years ago . . . the two highest days in the week for absenteeism are Fridays and Mondays. So, absenteeism of 13% to 15% is fairly common. Well, when you get ready to start an assembly line at 8 o'clock in the morning and you find out that you have 13% of the people gone, you have to do a lot of scrounging. You have to bring people over to try to man the stations who are not proficient or who have not had the experience. You've got to double your supervision, you've got to double your inspection, and this creates an insurmountable burden (1970:77).

Kearns (1970) notes that a rise in absenteeism of one percent in a plant employing 1,000 workers would cost an estimated $150,000 per year. Thus, the problem of increasing absenteeism is of considerable economic importance. Bass stated that "Job dissatisfaction is related to absenteeism particularly among lower-skilled levels of employees, but not among women employees or among highly skilled white-collar employees" (1965: 37).

Recent changes made to off-set increases in absenteeism and poor quality of production have incorporated at least two concepts. The first

is the recognition that work is the center about which most human activities occur, and the second is the realization that man is first of all a social creature constantly relating to his social structure. Thus, if man's social structure values a certain work ethic or quality, the worker is likely to value it also, provided that it does not conflict with his more immediate and personal necessities.

It is only logical that problems affecting society also affect general working conditions, just as the social mores of that society dictate the manner in which workers interact among themselves. As Cass observed, "The most pressing of American social problems have their common denominator in problems relating to work and play" (1965:27). Earlier, P. Berger made similar observations and commented that "The meanings of work and leisure are inextricably related both to each other and to the cultural norms which define their moral place in a social order" (1963:26).

Wilensky (1963) also depicts some trends in the social analysis of work in that researchers no longer attempt to glorify the medieval craft life and attack the dehumanized labor of the assembly line. He suggested that it is presently more common to be informed of the social aspects of work and how they are being utilized to increase production. This idea has been supported also by Parker (1971) and Reich (1970). As a result, industry is trying a variety of methods to cope with the problems of worker discontentment. Among these methods are machine and incentive systems that permit men to work ahead and then to loaf; self scheduling where workers are permitted to schedule their own work week within a broad range of working periods; union contracts providing for call-in-pay; stand-by pay; allowing workers to enjoy refreshment during regular work periods and at their work stations, in addition to regular breaks, paid rest and work periods. Some industries allow workers on assembly lines to work on entire assemblies rather than upon individual parts, thus permitting free movement and conversation among the various workers involved in the assembly process. The results of such efforts are cited by Parker who found that:

> Among skilled factory workers and craftsmen, intrinsic satisfaction with the work itself is frequently found, especially when the job involved the completion of a whole product. Assembly line workers attach more importance to being able to control to some extent the pace and methods of their work. Variety of operations is a source of satisfaction to both the factory and office workers, and among the latter the friendliness of the working groups is often mentioned (1971:43).

Paid holidays and vacations, sick leaves, coffee breaks, insurance policies, the lengthy "lunch hours" among top business and professional people,

and card games among night employees are all long standing practices as well.

Hartman and Gibson (1971) reported that the new United Auto Workers contract with Chrysler Corporation called for a study to determine the feasibility of switching from a five day, 40 hour work week to a four day, 40 hour work week. Swados (1959) referred to the four day work week as an inevitable consequence of automation and suggested that the primary human interest would shift from the job to leisure-time activities. To Riesman (1958), this would place an impossible burden on leisure.

Leisure classes of the past were sometimes able to absorb what seemed to be an overdose of leisure, primarily because free citizens engaged in an intellectual self-cultivation or in war and government while they felt work to be demeaning, belittling and beneath the dignity of free men (Riesman, 1964). However, as Smigel points out: "In our society, work and leisure have always been interrelated" (1963:14). This interrelationship is expressed in Margaret Mead's words: ". . . leisure must be earned by work . . . while it [leisure] is enjoyed it must be seen in a context of future work and good works" (1958:12).

The propensity of human beings to value their work is well established. Past industrial trends which emphasized production methods while ignoring the personal and social needs of the worker generally resulted in the initiation of strained human relations between workers and management. When work and play are placed on a continuum of intrinsic to extrinsic values, play alone has purely intrinsic value. On the other end, work for no other purpose than for pay is at the extrinsic extreme. Cass commented upon this extreme when he cited, "The worker . . . who produces . . . goods that serve no real social purpose cannot justify the expenditure of . . . time and energy on any terms except the paycheck" (1965:28). Cass concluded that the real significance of placing work at the extreme extrinsic side of a continuum is that the worker must then rely wholly upon his leisure activity for his intrinsic or personal satisfaction. John Dewey found no sharp distinction between work and play and stated that "When the consciousness of activities is separated from outcome, play degenerates into fooling while work becomes drudgery" (1933:217).

The disintegration of work into unrelated tasks makes it become purely an extrinsic function. According to Riesman ". . . the leisure which was once a fringe benefit now threatens to push work itself closer to the fringes of consciousness and significance" (1964:151). Also, "In this new perspective, leisure, . . . may become what workers recover from at work . . ." (1964:160). Blum (1953) reflects a similar reservation about work and leisure in his statement that work may appear as a last remnant of rootedness or "grounding" in a world of such mobility that

goals, including the nature of status itself, are being continuously redefined in expressions away from work.

Concerning the apparent conflict between work and leisure, Parker writes:

> In pre-industrial societies there was no confrontation between work and leisure because work itself contained such leisure-like activities as society could afford its members . . . It is only in the modern phase of industrialism, with the shorter working week and greater purchasing power of the masses, that leisure has become a significant sphere of life (1971:116).

The interpretations of the value of leisure by Parker (1971) directly contrasts with the Calvinistic feeling in American culture that says work alone is good and that a preoccupation with leisure is tantamount to an endorsement of sin. Smigel (1963) observed the changes in attitude prevalent in American culture and reports a growing concern about the work-leisure complex. However, Smigel attributes this concern to a fear of unemployment which has its roots in the 1929-39 depression, with its "enforced leisure." Automation, with the paradoxical threat and promise of increased free time, has magnified this concern (Seligman, 1965). The nation's young, free of the memories of World War II and the Great Depression, seem less concerned with this fear and are at odds with their elders concerning the work-leisure complex (Kauffman, 1967).

However, other changes in work and leisure are also evidenced. Wilensky (1963) suggested that the skilled urban worker may have gained the position of his 13th century counterpart in that he enjoys a relatively high rate of pay for a relatively short week. In contrast, the upper strata of the labor force appears to have lost out. Although their working hours are less strenuous physically and more flexibly scheduled than that of the production workers, these workers in the upper levels of the labor force work many steady hours week after week, including many evenings and weekends. Wilensky stated that:

> ". . . the elites, who, it is said, cannot distinguish work from leisure and whose expense accounts are said to symbolize the Good Life, may stick to business more than we think. One breakdown of average hours of business executives shows about 43 hours at the office plus seven hours doing paper work and business reading at home" (1963:129).

This observation was the basis for Wilensky's conclusion that "There is no longer a leisure class in America" (1963:137). He concluded that

the group of professional and managerial workers who previously constituted the so-called leisure class now work harder than many people in the working class. He also suggested that the formal leisure class is presently not a class at all. He categorized the leisure class into occupational and age categories that: (1) have motivation and opportunity to choose leisure over income activities or (2) were in occupations marginal to the economy and therefore perhaps forced into leisure (1963:137).

The occupational groups marginal to the economy and whose members are often forced into leisure, including retirement, are usually concentrated in low-income, low-status occupations (Wilensky, 1963). It should be noted that this group of people have their leisure not by choice, but rather as a result of the lack of current and saleable skills. The incidence of involuntary unemployment and retirement suggested to Wilensky that those who have had the most leisure wanted and needed it the least. It is not known at this point the extent to which this need is social or financial. However, it was suggested that the "leisure stricken" were not replacing the "poverty stricken" but that the two were becoming the same class.

To relate the importance of leisure and the "leisure stricken," it should be remembered that Morse and Wiess (1955) report, from a nationwide study of adult men, that 90 percent said they would continue to work even if they could live comfortably without doing so. Friedmann and Havighurst (1954) also found, from a study of retired workers, that a feeling of loss was associated with no longer having a job to do. Bakke (1940) reported that the absence of work was considered a demoralizing force among people who were unemployed. T. Smith (1967:26091) remarked that "Perhaps the most damaging form of personal rejection is to tell a man there is nothing in the world for him to do" and equated worklessness to meaninglessness. Similar sentiments were expressed in Sheppard's article when he quoted Green as saying "Surely there is nothing more damaging to the human spirit than the knowledge or belief that one's capacities are unused, unwanted or expended in something of no particular value" (1971b:90).

All of these findings support the concept that work is regarded as an intrinsic part of modern life. The personal need of humans to work runs deeper than simply the provision of the essentials for life. Work could perhaps provide social involvement which is not available to retirees or the unemployed, whose contemporaries in the present society are all at work.

G. Friedmann (1962) differentiates work and leisure by defining leisure activity as that activity freely chosen and pursued when and in the manner desired by the individual without exterior pressure, and for the sole purpose of inner growth or satisfaction. Parker (1971) explains work and leisure in terms of the time and activities in one's life space. His explanation is formulated into a matrix containing the following forces:

ACTIVITY

	Constraint	⟷	Freedom
Work	Work (employment)	Work Obligations (connected with employment)	'Leisure in work'
Non-work	Physiological needs	Non-work obligations	Leisure

Figure 1. Relationship of work to Leisure

The classification of any activity is therefore dependent upon the qualifying elements of (1) constraint or obligation to perform and freedom to direct self activities, and (2) the time period during which the activity occurs or whether or not the action occurs during the working day or when the employee is "on his own time."

To the human, work and leisure are interrelated factors, neither of which is mutually exclusive. Societal changes upon either factor affect the other. Emerging trends such as the shortened workweek (to 35 hours or less), the four day week and other factors which on the surface appear to be beneficial, may have negative reactions as well. Since work seems to have definite social value due to its inherent interaction of intrinsic and extrinsic values, the increased amount of time spent on leisure where this interaction does not or may not occur may have negative effects upon a person's life. To what extent such factors affect the quest for human feelings and value through second jobs and the establishment of recreation centers and schools for the pursuit of leisure activities is unknown.

The relative effects of the current trends toward humanizing jobs is not apparent except in its relation to labor costs and production (Paul, 1969; Ford, 1969; Price, 1972; Thompson, 1972). Where dehumanizing of jobs has occurred, the possibility exists that the discrepancy between the traditional work ethic and the reality of the job may have already eliminated the desirability of work in the minds of many people in America, thus negating the positive attributes of the humanizing trends.

JOB SATISFACTION, PRODUCTIVITY, AND

THE MEANING AND VALUE OF WORK

Previous discussion has identified two sources of work values which are related to the individual's job satisfaction. Intrinsic values are those values derived from a sense of accomplishment, social relations with other workers and other factors relating to the actual "performing" of the job. Extrinsic values have been identified as those aspects of employment which are related to employment but not directly associated with performing the activities of the job themselves. These elements would include pay, fringe benefits, company loyalties and other factors. Herzberg, et al., (1959) concluded from a study of motivation to work that job satisfaction resulted primarily from intrinsic elements while the prime sources of dissatisfaction were in the extrinsic elements of the job environment.

Herzberg (1970a, d, e) identified two need systems relating to job satisfaction. The first system was composed of the hygiene factors, which relate to the need to adjust to the environment, primarily by avoiding pain. This was identified as a need that we have in common with all animals. The second system was composed of the motivation factors, which relate to the need to fulfill the human talent and the desire to experience psychological growth, a need unique to the human species. The motivators were considered as prime factors in establishing the degree to which the person desired to work or to experience feelings of accomplishment. These motivators include achievement, recognition for achievement, interesting work, responsibility, advancement, and growth. Motivators, rather than job environment, describe the job content--the work itself that is done. Herzberg's identification is the basis for his conclusion that motivation factors produce job satisfaction and lead to motivation to perform, while hygiene factors promote job dissatisfaction.

P. Berger (1964) noted that work situations differ greatly in their environment and their social relationships. The same occupation may be performed in a variety of locations, within a variety of social contexts and basic working environments. Within each of these exists a complex network of status relationships and human interactions. The individual must find and maintain his place within this complex network in order to find satisfaction. The implication is that to achieve happiness and satisfaction, an individual must find a place where his particular sense of values is satisfied and he can adjust and grow to maintain his particular need for satisfaction.

This particular type of job satisfaction appears to be of considerable importance to workers. These observations were supported by Friedlander and Walton (1964) who found that favorable intrinsic job elements tended to influence the worker to remain on his job, while negative extrinsic job elements tended to influence the worker to leave his employment and search for greener pastures. However, Waters and Roach (1971) found that, while several intrinsic aspects of the work situation were significantly related to a termination criterion, none of the extrinsic aspects of the work were found to relate to termination.

Riesman (1964) points out that the absence of job satisfaction in many cases is due to a fundamental dissatisfaction he labeled the "tradition of failure." This he interpreted to be the conviction of many older white collar workers that success in life (interpreted first of all as obtaining white collar status) is achieved only through the route of small business, politics or other similar routes. However, Riesman suggested that there is no "sour grapes" attitude, as these workers are also much too Americanized to look favorably upon blue collar work even though their standard of living is considered greater than the lower ranks of the white collar world.

Herzberg stated that "The elements of work which contribute to job satisfaction are those which essentially describe the relationship of the worker to what he does" (1970d:35). He specified such things as: (1) achievement, (2) recognition, (3) interesting work, (4) responsibility, (5) professional growth, and (6) advancement.

Parker (1971), in a synthesis of several related research studies, identified similar groupings. Parker also specified two groups similar to the intrinsic or motivator needs of earlier investigators. His two poles of this "needs" element were work satisfaction and themes of dissatisfaction. Among the elements identified as providing work satisfaction was autonomy which included achievement, recognition and interesting work, as did Herzberg's findings. Parker added to these the elements of creating, using skills, working wholeheartedly (without fear of pressure when the worker decreases or increases his production rate), having responsibilities and showing initiative. Parker's themes of dissatisfaction included doing repetitive work, making a small part of something and not the whole, doing useless tasks, having a sense of insecurity and being too closely supervised.

The lack of job satisfaction can be a major element in disliking a job but is not necessarily the major element influencing a person to leave a job. The major elements found to be related to decisions to leave a job are extrinsic values. These values are generally labeled as dissatisfiers and differ from the elements contributing to job satisfaction. Dissatis-

fiers essentially describe the environment or surroundings where the work tasks are performed. Elements such as administrative practice, company policy, close supervision, lack of personal relationships with peers, subordinates or supervisors, poor working conditions, low status, low salaries and poor fringe benefits are among the job dissatisfiers (Herzberg, 1970d; Parker, 1971). Low salary was reported as the principal reason for changing jobs by counselors (Irzinski, 1968) and by male high school teachers (Aven, 1968). Such extrinsic factors as salary, wages and fringe benefits were found to be the major component of job dissatisfaction for practical nurses (Martin, 1968), marketing employees (Hinrichs, 1968), professional government workers (Jafri, 1968), and industrial education teachers (Lacy, 1968; Kenneke, 1968).

Herzberg (1970a) believes that many of the problems arising from worker dissatisfaction have been due to the logic used by management in employee motivation. According to Herzberg, the motivation processes employed by most managements have been direct and without use of the psychological implications of employee satisfaction. Herzberg identified the main management technique as "KITA" practice, which is the facetious acronym for a kick in the region upon which one sits.

Herzberg identified two variations of the "KITA" approach: the threat and the reward. This would correlate to low level types of learning reminiscent of the stimulus-response concepts of Skinner or Pavlov. The rewards take the form of salary increases, fringe benefits, discount purchasing, status symbols such as executive washrooms, reserved parking, retirement programs, company picnics, tax shelters, sensitivity training, Christmas parties and so on. These, of course, are easily recognized as extrinsic factors which have been shown to relate more to job movement rather than to job satisfaction. The negative aspects of the "KITA" approach include such things as increased production requirements, deduction from pay, reduced pay rates, withholding bonus or leave time, and other factors including warnings, official reprimands, lay-offs and other similar factors. Herzberg points out that these extrinsic motivators increase the cost of production and lead management into a situation where they must provide more and more extrinsic factors to keep production at comparatively the same level, thus spiraling the increase of production costs. Herzberg (1970d:35) observes: "job satisfaction and job dissatisfaction are two separate, distinct experiences and not just opposite ends of the same feeling."

Pallone, et al., (1971) reviewed 113 studies relating to job satisfaction reported during 1968 and 1969. They found that five of these studies supported Herzberg's two factor theory and thirteen of the studies challenged the two factor theory. The summary of their findings included the following:

1) There remains insufficient evidence to support the "two factor" theory that job satisfaction is generated by one set of variables, while dissatisfaction is generated by another, qualitatively distinct, set.

2) Several studies confirm the widely held operating hypothesis that salary, wages, and fringe benefits represent important components of job satisfaction. Other studies suggest that supervisor-worker relationships represent important components of worker's job satisfaction.

3) Relatively few personality traits were reported in 1968-69 to relate to job satisfaction or to dissatisfaction (1971: 21).

Friedlander and Walton (1964) reported contrasting results. They observed that scientists and engineers tended to remain with an organization for quite different reasons than the reasons for which they might leave that organization. Again, they found that positive and negative motivators were not simply opposites. Lyman (1955) also supported the finding that intrinsic values were factors in job satisfaction. In her findings, the major source of differences in job satisfaction between the two groups studied did not appear to lie specifically in the ease of labor, economic rewards, and working conditions of the blue collar job, and the nature and freedom of the more highly regarded white collar job.

For the blue collar worker, then, extrinsic factors alone are not the source of job dissatisfactions. Rosow (1971b) also supports the paramount nature of intrinsic factors in job satisfaction. He reported from a survey of working men conducted through the University of Michigan Research Center that job challenge (interesting work) was rated as the single most important aspect of job satisfaction.

Wernimont (1966) developed yet another facet in the importance of intrinsic factors in job satisfaction. He reported that the worker's expectations of the job before he began to work were a factor in job satisfaction. This expectation was interpreted by Wernimont to be an intrinsic factor. He believed that the individual approached the job with culturally influenced views as to what the company and management should expect to contribute for his services. In light of these culturally influenced expectations, the extent to which the management contributed, thus providing status and recognition to the workers, was an important factor in determining job satisfaction or dissatisfaction.

Herzberg (1970a, e) suggested that, in industry, instead of employing "KITA" techniques to motivate employees, workers should be encouraged to want to do a good job because that is a goal which should be meaning-

ful and important. However, this philosophy has omitted a major factor in personal satisfaction: that of increased personal involvement. The same production methods with such involvement are unlikely to produce an increase in production rates.

McGregor (1960) developed the concept that behind every managerial decision are assumptions about human nature and behavior. He portrays two contrasting theories. "Theory X" is the traditional view of direction and control exercised by management over production. "Theory Y" is the portrayal of the processes for the integration of individual and organizational goals into the achievement of desirable production rates. McGregor's contrast of the two theories is highly respected in the field of industrial sociology.

Theory X is based upon three basic assumptions about human nature and motivation. These assumptions are elemental in the decisions made by management following the Theory X process. These assumptions are:

1. The average human being has an inherent dislike of work and will avoid it if he can.

2. Because of this human characteristic of dislike of work, most people must be coerced, controlled, directed, threatened with punishment to get them to put forth adequate effort toward the achievement of organizational objectives.

3. The average human being prefers to be directed, wishes to avoid responsibility, has relatively little ambition, wants security above all (McGregor, 1960:33-34).

Underlying these assumptions is the basic idea that the traditional work ethic has by now evolved to a changed and less honest ethic referred to as an avoidance ethic (Herzberg, 1966). The avoidance ethic also assumes that self-motivation and interesting work are not factors in work performance. McGregor recognizes these assumptions but holds that these theories concerning behavior and motivation would not have persisted if there was not a considerable body of evidence to support them. From previous data, it can be shown that some well defined problems do fit these assumptions. However, it can be readily seen from previous data that where these assumptions are made but are not valid, adverse worker attitudes have resulted. McGregor then advanced Theory Y to explain more recent knowledge and findings of this nature. Theory Y embraces a modified positive work ethic by making the following basic assumptions:

1. <u>The expenditure of physical and mental effort in work is as natural as play or rest</u> . . .

2. External control and the threat of punishment are not the only means for bringing about effort toward organizational objectives. Man will exercise self-direction and self-control in the service of objectives to which he is committed.

3. Commitment to objectives is a function of the rewards associated with their achievement. The most significant of such rewards, e.g., the satisfaction of ego and self-actualization needs, can be direct products of effort directed toward organizational objectives.

4. The average human being learns, under proper conditions, not only to accept but to seek responsibility . . .

5. The capacity to exercise a relatively high degree of imagination, ingenuity, and creativity in the solution of organizational problems is widely, not narrowly, distributed in the population.

6. Under the conditions of modern industrial life, the intellectual potentialities of the average human being are only partially utilized (McGregor, 1960:47-48).

As the reader may see, the assumptions of Theory Y sharply differ from the assumptions of Theory X. The assumptions underlying Theory Y are dynamic rather than static and rely upon involvement and the establishment of intrinsic goals rather than response to extrinsic pressures. The importance of these factors is that, as a result of formal study, some changes in tactics are being developed to effect a positive work ethic that was becoming negative in nature.

These theories are not, however, without opposition. Colin (1971) questions both of McGregor's theories. Instead, he proposes "Theory Z" which promulgates the concept of change. Colin advocates that new approaches will have to recognize that entire organizational structures are being changed. The major premise of Theory Z is that innovation and motivation are inseparable. However, Colin points out that it is entirely possible the direction taken in such innovations can be detrimental to the overall success of the organization. Therefore, Colin emphasizes that goals of employees must be coordinated with goals of the company for the ultimate success of both. He points out that in too many cases, if a worker is successful in his craft, he is forced to leave it through promotion, advance, and change in status due to financial or societal pressures. The implication of Theory Z is that society must recognize quality without advocating advancement to the point of no quality. Similar con-

cepts have been advanced in the Peter Principle (Peter and Hull, 1969) and Parkinson's Law (Parkinson, 1957).

Thus, several different positions have been advanced. Traditional manufacturing or industrial controls were autocratic and assumed that the goals of the employees were different from the goals of the management. More recently, management has tended to recognize that these two positions are not mutually exclusive and that managers must consider fundamental human needs.

In addition, environment and social welfare must be considered. Where they are not, Herzberg (1970c) feels that latent worker hostility and challenges to our social, political and economic system will increase. Thus, Herzberg believes that continued adherence to Theory X will result in increasingly negative reactions that will be evidenced through increasingly negative production.

In discussing the relationship between satisfaction and performance, Schwab and Cummings (1970) pointed out that during the human relations era, it was believed that satisfaction would lead to performance. But, during the 1950's, a number of variables that affected this relationship were discovered and, more recently, the theory that performance leads to satisfaction has been advocated by a number of writers, following the lead of Lawler and Porter (1967). The basic assumption of the performance-satisfaction concept, according to Schwab and Cummings, is that "One must assume, for example, that feelings of worthwhile accomplishment increase the attractiveness or valence of such achievement" (1970:419).

Management's Point of View

In a changing technological society, the role of management in a complex industrial organization includes communication and human relations. Management's responsibilities are to achieve the most economic, efficient production possible, thus keeping profit at the maximum, while also maintaining optimum worker satisfaction. In past times, these two positions often conflicted. Presently, efforts are being made to integrate the two positions for the common good of both company and employees.

Policy decisions at executive levels and information pertinent to material needs must be translated and communicated to production personnel, while production and maintenance costs must be defined and transmitted to the executive, decision-making branches. Thus, the problems faced in modern business become those of effective human relations between the company's employees and executives in order to maintain and increase production without disproportionate cost. Herzberg (1970e; 1971a) describes modern

management concerns as being relative to two aspects: the first is how well the employees are treated, and the second is how well employees are used for the attainment of company objectives. He also notes that industry is not getting sufficient returns for the investments it has in its people. Herzberg states that "managers complain bitterly that the more they give their employees, the less they seem to be getting in return" (1970a: 38). This points again to Herzberg's contention that by using the "KITA" system of rewards and punishments, increasing rewards are necessary to maintain the same production rates, thus increasing per-unit production cost.

Effects of Production and Productivity on the Value of Work

The historical concept of production meant to produce the necessities of life; the industrial concept is to produce objects in surplus of your immediate physical needs and to trade the surplus for money. For the modern working class, production means working for a concern which owns and manages the production and marketing in order to receive a share of the profits made by such production, usually in the form of a salary. These values tend to place a clear-cut value on all functions of production. However, new fields of employment, not related directly to production, have developed ("Land the Poor Built . . .," 1972). Government workers, administrators, advertisers, personnel managers, police, medical assistants, teachers, servicemen, and others are employed in nonproduction jobs.

Thus, two distinctions are derived from the word "production." The word "production" itself generally refers to the process of producing or constructing some product or to the total output in numbers of units produced by a plant or industry. The second meaning concerns the use of the word "productivity" which concerns the output per unit of input, usually in terms of man-hours.

These distinctions have become more necessary in recent years. The U.S. Bureau of Labor Statistics of the Department of Labor (1971) reports that the productivity growth rate for the United States lagged behind the growth rate of productivity for most other industrial countries between 1965-70. Because of this slower growth in productivity, the Bureau reports that the per unit labor costs rose more rapidly in the United States than in any other country except for Canada and Italy.

American industry, which has been forced to increase the rewards just to maintain current rates of production, finds itself in an increasingly difficult position in a competitive international market. Drucker observes that:

> Productivity will also be a major challenge and a major concern of the next ten years . . . To have price stability, wages must not rise faster than productivity. But all attempts to gear wages to productivity . . . have concerned themselves primarily with manual workers in manufacturing, transportation, mining, and construction . . . The bulk of tomorrow's employment will be in service trades, knowledge jobs--in health care, teaching, government, management, research, and the like (1971:39).

Drucker also points out that no one knows very much about the productivity of knowledge-based occupations, let alone how to improve the productivity of them. He states that the only thing certain is that the productivity of these areas has not been increasing. He observed that the salesclerk in today's department store does not sell more than the salesclerk of three or four decades ago if the change in the purchasing power of money is taken into account. Further, hospitals of four decades ago had three employees for every ten patients and a low per patient investment. Today the ratio is still unchanged despite an extremely high investment. Nor has the productivity increased as measured by the percent of patients who leave the hospitals alive. Drucker further points out that:

> Large businesses, these past twenty years, have added layer upon layer of management and all kinds of specialized staffs, from market research to personnel and from cost analysis to long-range planning (1971:39).

Drucker (1971) concludes that, although industry has learned how to define and quantify the productivity of manual work, little has been developed along the same lines to gauge the productivity of other types of work. He also concludes that the need to do so will increase as the economy must absorb more "knowledge workers." If these premises are valid, then industry must increase productivity by tremendous rates to offset the increased labor costs per unit that are a result of rising labor wages of both the production worker and his management counterpart. Not to do so may have catastrophic ramifications for the American way of life. The attitude and values of work in this light assume greatly magnified importance in that they are one of the primary keys to increasing the productivity which is vital to the economic balance of the nation.

The new trends (the increase of service and managerial workers combined with the decrease in manual workers) also have several implications for the definition of job satisfaction and meaning and value of work. Work ethics may well be different for different types of workers, just as are their sources of job satisfaction. Further, an increasing trend appears to be leading toward the desirability of certain service and man-

agerial occupations in light of the findings that job satisfaction relates to independence, social interactions, and the accomplishment and involvement factors inherent in such types of work.

The Value of Work--A Sociologists-Psychologists' Point of View

Herzberg (1971b) observed that workers today expect good treatment as a matter of right and not as a reward for good performance. Herzberg's observation is an extension of his belief that as rewards are given to maintain production, these rewards become expected as a matter of course, and increased rewards must continue to maintain the status quo with regard to production. The cost of a fair day's work, under such conditions, is becoming quite unfair to the employer and is often expressed in buyer resistance from the consuming public. Herzberg believes that the real opportunities for solutions to productivity costs are in the realm of worker motivation. Management must use these opportunities as hidden resources in the reduction of productivity costs. Herzberg believes that by making the work itself a rewarding experience, a better result will be achieved.

McGregor (1960) observed factors supporting this viewpoint some years ago when he proposed that, for many wage earners, work is perceived as a form of punishment, which is the price to be paid for the various kinds of satisfaction away from the job. McGregor deduced that if this was the worker's perception, management could hardly expect the worker to undergo any more punishment than was absolutely necessary and added that if the dislike for work were to become too strong, it would be likely that even the promise of rewards would not over come the desire to avoid punishment (work). McGregor concluded that unless there are opportunities at work to offset the dislike for work and to develop higher level needs (e.g., social and egoistic needs), ". . . people will be deprived; and their behavior will reflect this deprivation" (1960:40).

Riesman, et al., (1950) describe an apathy about work and believe that the most unpopular of all work, and hence the least glamorous, is work in a pool which tends to diminish personal identification and recognition. This, Riesman believes, diminishes prestige and glamour, which are underlying motivating factors. Riesman further states that, between work and play, work has the greater prestige in our society. However, he believes that, should the quality and prestige be eliminated from man's work, chaos may result. He concludes that what may look like laziness may be a reaction against the kind of work people are forced to do and against the way in which they are forced to define their role in society. This constitutes the alienated work concept of Karl Marx as discussed by

P. Berger (1964). Berger remarked that "Under the conditions of alienated work, man works not in order to fulfill himself . . . but by necessity and in order to survive" (1964:222).

Herzberg (1966) has the opinion that, in an industrial society, a myth was developed to justify the alienated work concept. Herzberg's theory contradicts the precept that the justification grew historically. He states that modern society created the myth of the mechanistic man: the worker whose overriding desire is to be utilized efficiently and to work with a minimum of effort. With the exception of the patriotic impulse of World War II, this has proven to be a false myth. The principles of scientific management, used to analyze a job into basic tasks requiring very few skills and even less knowledge to perform, work wonders of efficiency but usually produce models of deplorable human management.

Hodgson (1972) reflects current beliefs by pointing out that today's behavioral scientists equate good mental health with interesting work. This is reflected in changes in the traditional work ethic which Hodgson interprets to mean that the work ethic is still strong in America. Hodgson further states that, although the traditional work ethic still remains strong, its motivational underpinning is changing. In a nation increasingly dedicated to improving its quality of life, self-realization through useful and interesting work becomes a credible goal.

Thus, the circle seems complete. Freud (1939) in his early beginnings of psychoanalysis and the study of human motivation, felt that the importance of work to the individual was vital in binding him to reality and that work was also necessary to discharge fundamental human urges that were required for a healthy mentality. Now, modern industry and modern sociologists-psychologists concur with Freud's earlier observation and believe that production work is dehumanizing. Current industrial practices appear to be changing to embrace the human characteristics in order to increase productivity and job satisfaction. However, the effect upon the national regard for work and its values to the American worker still remain unknown.

SELECTED RESEARCH STUDIES OF SPECIAL INTEREST

TO VOCATIONAL AND TECHNICAL EDUCATION

The meaning and value of work is a topic of broad interest to all scholars concerned with the sociological aspects of our technological culture. A number of authors with a variety of backgrounds and fields of experience have therefore written about the value and meaning of work. Pertinent articles and writings relating to the meaning and value of work are contained in the writings of many disciplines. The reader is referred to the Bibliography for a comprehensive listing of the writings identified by this review.

However, a limited number of research studies relating to the meaning and value of work deemed to be of particular interest to vocational and technical education were identified and are presented in this section along with comments in the hope that they may enable the reader to review these studies in the form of a summary.

The way currently employed workers distinguish work activities from non-work activities was investigated by Weiss and Kahn (1960). The majority of the respondents perceived work as an activity which was necessary though not enjoyed, or as a scheduled or paid activity. Conclusions of this study were that problems arising from the work situation are best understood in terms of a complex consisting of the view, function, occupation, and background of work.

A formal conceptualization of work values dates back to the work of Ginzberg, et al. They said:

> . . . the foundation for an effective occupational choice must lie in the values and goals of an individual, for it is these which enable him to order his current activities with reference to the future. The essential element in occupational decision-making is the effective linking of present action to future objectives. Certainly, capacities and interests must be considered, but the individual will not make an effective occupational choice unless he he has support from his value scheme (1951:246).

From this investigation, three categories or types of work values were identified. The first contains those values related to the work itself and are called "intrinsic" values. The second category consists of the values related to returns from work and are termed "extrinsic" values. The third category contains concomitant values which are those values that could not be dichotomized into intrinsic and extrinsic values. As a

result of later investigations of career patterns, Super (1968; 1962), and Hendrix and Super (1968) developed the Work Values Inventory (WVI) which yields scores on fifteen values of work. Super's Work Values Inventory has been widely used and tested in subsequent research (Ivey, 1963; Super and Mowry, 1962; O'Hara and Tiedeman, 1959; O'Connor and Kinnane, 1961; Kinnane and Suziedelis, 1962; Kinnane and Pable, 1962; Kinnane and Gaubinger, 1963; Kinnane and Bannon, 1964).

Although not as extensively used or tested as Super's WVI, several other inventories of work values have been constructed. The more prominent ones include: Hammond's Occupational Attitude Rating Scales (Hammond, 1954), Stefflre's Vocational Values Inventory (Singer and Stefflre, 1954 and Stefflre, 1959), the Minnesota Importance Questionnaire (Weiss, et al., 1964), and the Occupational Values Inventory (Impellitteri and Kapes, 1971).

The role of values in human behavior is explained by Katz who believes, "Values may be regarded as characteristic outer expressions and culturally influenced manifestations of needs" (1963:16). He also provided the structure for interrelating needs, values and interests.

Thorns (1971), from an investigation of two middle class suburban communities, concludes that to classify work as only a source of intrinsic satisfaction or as an instrumental activity does not provide a clear picture of what constitutes a work activity for most people. Day (1971), on the other hand, maintains that work is an instrumental activity with only extrinsic satisfactions. Day prefers to view work and play as complimentary aspects of all activities. Friedlander (1965), however, finds that opportunities for self-actualization were of major importance to white collar workers and the social environment was the predominant value of blue collar workers.

A recent review of the concept of work values (Zytowski, 1970) identified twelve to fifteen items that were deemed adequate for a taxonomy of a work values system. However, following a factor analysis of these items, Zytowski concluded that three to six values would be adequate for the taxonomy and that a hierarchical arrangement of the work values is needed for an understanding of this concept. Similarly, following a survey of the literature relating to values, Impellitteri and Kapes (1971) found three aspects that appeared to be crucial to the valuing process. These aspects are:

1) The nature of an individual's hierarchy of values . . .

2) The magnitude of a value . . .

3) The intensity of value . . . (1971:3-4).

They also found that ". . . primary emphasis is placed upon the values profile or hierarchy; value intensity is usually accounted for in some way; and value magnitude is usually avoided" (1971:4).

Although considerable interest and activity was spurred on by the efforts of Ginzberg and Super, Borow cautioned:

> Like many other fields which are under vigorous cultivation through research, the field of occupational behavior suffers from bigness and disjointedness. Investigators in diverse scholarly disciplines (e.g., counseling psychology, clinical psychology, industrial psychology, occupational and industrial sociology, labor economics) have built relatively independent conceptions of occupational man, each with its own judgments of what is important, its own methodology, and its own professional argot (1964:371).

Holland's comments support this warning by reflecting:

> The present orientation, with its explicit recognition that vocational behavior is related to the life history, personality and self-conceptions as well as to aptitudes and interests, has provided an intellectual climate which fosters a great variety of empirical studies and theoretical formulations (1964:260).

However, the stability of values in school age youth has been a major concern in vocational development studies. Dipboye and Anderson compared the values of ninth and twelfth grade students and concluded ". . . that occupational values are generally well formed by the time the pupil completes the ninth grade, and little change takes place during the high school career" (1959:124). This conclusion was reinforced by Thompson (1966) who, in a longitudinal study of the occupational values between the ninth and tenth grades, failed to show a significant difference between the way students, as a group, responded as freshmen and as sophomores. Similarly, Fleege and Malone (1946) compared values between a group of junior high school students and a group of senior high school students and found little difference in their values. However, Gribbons and Lohnes, in a study of shifts in values over time, found:

> . . . the emergence of more mature values somewhat contradicts the finding of Dipboye and Anderson that little change takes place [in (the student's) occupational values] during [his]

high school career (1959:124). However, as noted, there are important constancies over the five years in our data also (1965:251).

A study by Pallone, et al., (1971) is the twenty-fifth in a series of studies of job satisfaction research. It surveyed 113 studies reported in 1968-1969. The studies surveyed relate job satisfaction to 52 different variables or sets of variables, and the authors summarize the research as follows:

1) The Minnesota theory of work adjustment promises to provide theoretical contracts useful in understanding vocational behavior.

2) Insufficient evidence is reported to support "two factor" theory.

3) Little evidence suggests that entering an occupation congruent with one's measured interests, yields job satisfaction.

4) Salary is reported in several studies to be an important component of satisfaction.

5) Relatively few personality traits are reported to relate to job satisfaction (1971:11).

Hersberg, et al., (1957) bring together the research pertinent to job attitudes prior to 1956 and provide a view of the problems and importance of the psychological climate for work. The results of violations of this climate in the industrial society are highlighted and documented by Sheppard (1971a) and Sheppard and Herrick (1972).

Ford (1969) provides a detailed account of a number of trial experiments in job enrichment conducted by the Bell Systems of the American Telephone and Telegraph company. These experiments focused on the enrichment of work itself as a solution to the problem of excessive employee turnover.

Goodwin (1969; 1971; 1972a, b) reported on the work orientations of the poor. His report originated from a study of welfare recipients participating in the Work Incentive program throughout the country. This study produced no evidence to support the notion that persons on welfare programs need to be motivated to work or that their orientation toward work is any less positive than that of employed persons.

A longitudinal study of four labor market population groups was completed by Kohen and Parnes (1970). The final report on the findings of this study are not yet available; however, periodic reports of the findings for each population group are available in the form of research monographs. The monographs include:

Kohen, Andrew I. Career Thresholds: A Longitudinal Study of the Educational and Labor Market Experience of Male Youth, Volume 4. Columbus: Center for Human Resource Research, The Ohio State University. January, 1973. 206 pp. ED 074 280 MF $0.65 HC $9.87.

_____, and Parnes, Herbert S. Career Thresholds: A Longitudinal Study of the Educational and Labor Market Experience of Male Youth. Volume Three. Columbus: Center for Human Resource Research, The Ohio State University. May, 1970. 164 pp. ED 054 336 MF $0.65 HC $6.58.

Kim, Sookon, et al. Dual Careers: A Longitudinal Study of Labor Market Experience of Women. Volume Two. Columbus: Center for Human Resource Research, The Ohio State University. September, 1972. 133 pp. ED 068 713 MF $0.65 HC $6.58.

Parnes, Herbert S., et al. The Pre-Retirement Years: A Longitudinal Study of the Labor Market Experience of the Cohort of Men 45-59 Years of Age. Vol. I. Columbus: Center for Human Resource Research, The Ohio State University. October, 1968. 303 pp. ED 026 525 MF $0.65 HC $13.16.

_____. The Pre-Retirement Years: A Longitudinal Study of Labor Market Experience of Men. Volume Two. Columbus: Center for Human Resource Research, The Ohio State University. January, 1970. 122 pp. ED 039 331 MF $0.65 HC $6.58.

Shea, John R., et al. Dual Careers: A Longitudinal Study of Labor Market Experience of Women. Volume One. Columbus: Center for Human Resource Research, The Ohio State University. May, 1970. 288 pp. ED 043 755 MF $0.65 HC $9.87.

_____. Years for Decision: A Longitudinal Study of the Educational and Labor Market Experience of Young Women. Volume One. Columbus: Center for Human Resource Research, The Ohio State University. February, 1971. 245 pp. ED 049 376 MF $0.65 HC $9.87.

Zeller, Frederic, A., et al. Career Thresholds: A Longitudinal Study of The Educational and Labor Market Experience of Male Youth. Volume Two. Columbus: Center for Human Resource Research, The Ohio State University. October, 1970. 161 pp. ED 047 104 MF $0.65 HC $.58.

The findings of this study have thus far revealed that there is perhaps no other time in one's life that will have as much impact as the period from 14 to 16 years of age, and that the transition from school to work is very complex.

For a report on the current status of manpower requirements, resources, utilization and training in the United States, the reader is referred to the Manpower Report of the President, (U.S. Department of Labor, 1972). This publication is the tenth annual report of the President of the United States to the Congress and is a report required under the Manpower Development and Training Act. It also contains some trends and projections. However, a more extensive treatment of the latter is found in The U.S. Economy in 1980 (U.S. Bureau of Labor Statistics, 1970). This publication is reprinted in the April, 1970 issue of the Monthly Labor Review under the title "The U.S. Economy in 1980," and the findings that are of special interest to vocational and technical education have been sumarized by Goldstein (1971).

TRENDS, IMPLICATIONS, AND SUMMARY

The following sections list the trends and implications in the meaning and value of work as discussed in this document. The "Summary" discusses the direction vocational and technical education must take in order to remain relevant to the needs of the people.

Em .ging Trends in the Meaning and Value of Work

Based on the sources cited in this review and synthesis, the following trends seem to be emerging relative to the meaning and value of work in American society. These trends are not predictions but rather focus the reader's attention upon some of the key points from this review. Further, it should be kept in mind that the trends presented herein do not constitute an exhaustive list but rather an eclectic one:

1) It appears that there is a growing concern among many social scientists, writers, educators, leaders in industry and labor, and others that the youth of America today may not be developing a meaningful and well defined "work ethic" as was consistently apparent in older generations.

2) Current data seem to point to a great degree of inconsistency in the traits comprising a "work ethic." This inconsistency seems to be varied among age and occupational categories.

3) It is becoming increasingly clear that service work (serving humans and machines) will increase in importance and, therefore, in the future, an increasing percentage of the work force will find employment in this area.

4) With a society which is rapidly changing from a production oriented occupational structure to that of a service and information type, there will be an earlier obsolescence of specific job skills and knowledge.

5) From past and present analysis of trends, it appears that the meaning, value and nature of work in American society is a dynamic function and will continue to change as the social, political and economic needs of society change.

6) It seems that importance will be placed on the value of work and the contributions it makes to the adjustment in life of an increasing number of Americans. However, it is not evident whether the value of work is viewed primarily as an interesting way to finance a standard of living or if it is actually considered a vital part of life.

7) It appears that an increased interest is shown in leisure-time activities and their relationship to specific work situations in an effort to incorporate both into a meaningful and satisfying life style by most Americans.

8) It appears that workers tend increasingly to demand more personal meaning, value and satisfaction from the work they are asked to perform, particularly in highly fragmented industrial occupations.

9) It is becoming increasingly clear that more problems will arise as students make the transition from school to work; thus, the responsibility of the school to

provide more emphasis upon the value of work in the curriculum(s) for all students will tend to increase.

10) Evidence points to a trend in industrial management to reduce absenteeism and increase productivity by intensifying efforts to improve the work setting and to provide the worker with the opportunity to be involved in the total production of a product or service, rather than its isolated parts. Thus, "new" production techniques may be substituted, in part, for the traditional assembly line.

11) Management will become less authoritarian and encourage more participation by the workers in the decision-making process directly affecting work.

12) It seems that future changes concerning the nature of work will deal with ways to humanize work as well as maintain and/or increase production.

13) It is becoming increasingly evident that the worker will be recognized more as a human being in the work setting. This may be implemented by an increased involvement of workers in determining their own working environment and work schedule.

14) It appears that the labor force will continue to change and will be composed of a higher percentage of (1) workers in the 25 to 34 year old age group, (2) women and (3) minority groups.

15) It seems that future generations more likely will seek occupations with work values which help fulfill personal needs than those which were chosen by recent generations.

16) An increasing awareness seems to be developing that problems at work have implications beyond the work place.

17) It appears that feelings of work dissatisfaction are not confined to a particular class or race in the American society, and that increasing dissatisfaction among the younger and better educated workers is evidenced.

18) It is becoming increasingly clear that more emphasis will be placed upon the contributions made to society by all types of work. The more "prestigious" occupations may

therefore tend to lose their appeal to some degree, particularly to those individuals who lack either motivation or ability for those occupations. Further, it is also evident that more interest and preparation for all occupations rather than a few is to be initiated in the nation's schools.

19) It appears that workers in general will spend less time at work and leisure time will increase without the creation of a "leisure class."

20) It is becoming increasingly evident that more emphasis will be placed upon adult and continuing education at all levels and in all occupations.

21) It appears that efforts may be intensified to increase the opportunities for occupational mobility of all workers.

Implications for Vocational and Technical Education

If the trends identified above are valid, they imply several definite and explicit concerns for vocational and technical education. The following implications are some of the more prominent ones:

1) Considering that the nature of work and the opportunities for employment are continually changing, vocational and technical educators will have to work more closely with business, industrial and labor leaders. They will also need to organize programs around a broad base, and utilize the facilities and equipment of employers for specific aspects of their programs more than they have been utilized in the past.

2) Vocational and technical education should consider its students as human beings and help them understand themselves and their preparation for the world of work in terms of the personal meaning and value work is capable of bringing to their lives. Consideration should also be given to leisure-time activities for future workers in vocational and technical education programs.

3) Vocational and technical education must increase its emphasis in reducing the "shock" in the transition from

school to work and make this transition as smooth as possible for students in every vocational and technical education program.

4) Programs for vocational and technical education need to be made more appealing to the 25 to 34 year old age group as a means to increase their feelings of mobility and personal satisfaction.

5) Work has always been and will probably continue to be an important part of a person's life; however, the nature, meaning and value of work apparently change with each generation. Much of the personal value derived from work by a particular person is directly related to what he or she has been taught (either intentionally or unintentionally) to expect from it. Today's generation has evidently been taught to expect, and are seeking, if not demanding, self-determination in their work as well as in their lives. Vocational and technical educators must be cognizant of that fact and try to structure vocational and technical education programs to respond to this need.

6) The reactions of workers to their work in the form of absenteeism, work stoppage, reduced production and increased unionization have been interpreted by business and industrial leaders as a demand for more meaningful work and, as a result, a number of job enrichment programs are being implemented. Vocational and technical education should assist business and industry in developing programs which reflect these concepts of work.

7) As the American society is moving from the production-based to a service-based labor force, an increasing effort will be made to attract more women into a wider variety of vocational and technical education programs.

8) Since the obsolescence of specific job skills is increasing, programs of vocational and technical education need to develop more rigorous cooperation with business and industry concerning possible student-worker exchanges on an alternating basis.

9) Vocational and technical education programs, while centering around preparation for work, must realize that the problems relating to work have implications

far beyond the work place. Therefore, vocational and technical education programs will have to include preparation for life as one of their basic objectives.

10) Based on the staggering discrepancy between the percentage of individuals who are prepared for college entrance and those who receive a college degree, more emphasis on vocational and technical education and less on college preparation is needed. Thus, vocational and technical educators must seek each opportunity to build a more viable image of vocational and technical education and to influence a more positive attitude toward vocational education in students, parents, and the general public.

Summary

The main purpose of this review and synthesis is to bring together the current and diverse viewpoints concerning the meaning and value of work in American society. Because one-third of the waking life of many Americans is spent at work, the work they do determines to a large extent their self-image, economic security and well being, satisfaction in life, status in the community, contribution to society, and their children's view of work and life in general. Therefore, the meaning and value of work must be taught, studied and understood by every member of the society. Work must be understood, not only in its narrowest sense, relating to the work place, but in its broad implication as one of society's most important institutions. To some extent, satisfaction of the members of a working society is dependent on the meaning and value which that society attaches to work. In an advanced technological society, the meaning and value of work becomes even more critical than in less advanced societies where the work which contributes to the sphere of life is relatively simple and easily understood.

If future generations in American society are going to find meaning and value in their work, vocational and technical education must assume part of the task of providing the leadership in promoting work enrichment programs. In addition, future innovations in business and industry must bring the worker closer to self-determination in the work situation.

Today, fewer people are producing the needed goods in less time, thus affording more people the opportunity to be of service to other human beings and to their community. The personal values derived from this type of work are determined directly by the individual and permit him to gain values from work beyond the mere completion of work tasks. Therefore, the emphasis upon volunteer or non-paid work is increasing and is becoming an

important factor in many people's lives. Societal mores must therefore include service to others as a value of work. Thus, as fewer people become involved in the actual production of goods, the meaning and value of work is changing to include service activities. As a requirement for satisfaction, this service may well be incorporated into formal, paid work activity as well as in volunteer work.

Vocational and technical education, as one of the major institutions in society charged with the preparation of people for work, must play a primary role in preparing the individual for life through work. This must include an understanding of the changes which will affect the meaning and values of the individual's work and will allow him to be a more effective participant in his self-determination within the work situation. This will ensure a more lasting self-fulfillment and satisfactory life.

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